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# West Europe Report

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13 January 1986

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POLITICAL

AUSTRIA

## PROSPECTS, STRATEGY FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PARTIES

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 23/24 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Hubert Margl: "Greens: "Rustling of Leaves or Free Fall? As a Party They Are Undergoing a Crisis, as a Movement They Still Have Chances"]

[Text] The Austrian Greens continue to enjoy much sympathy among the people but the confidence in their competence to act is declining. The splinter groups are too much at variance with one another, their functionaries too far removed from the centers of decision-making. While perplexity is spreading even among the most loyal followers, Voggenhuber of the Salzburg Citizens Initiative comes forward with fundamental criticism. He says it is not the idea that is done for but the present policy and only a movement of the Solidarnosc type can revive society. The manner in which Guenther Nenning was kicked out of the labor union only sharpens the distrust against big organizations and their methods. A great moment for Greens? First they would have to agree among themselves.

"People are afraid of any political change because they think it's going to be worse." (Heinrich Boell)

As recently as 10 months ago there prevailed a euphoric mood in the camp of Austria's "Greens": Not only had a handful of insurgents forced the government in Lower Austria to its knees, the public opinion poll also confirmed to the two strongest Green parties a maximum of voter approval and sympathy from the people. More than 7 percent of the persons entitled to vote at that time were prepared to bring the "United Greens" into parliament at the next possible Sunday. At any rate even more than 2 percent had voted for the "Alternative List." Today, a few weeks after the provincial elections in Upper Austria, there are only long faces in this respect in VGOe (United Greens of Austria) and ALOe (Alternative List of Austria). The middle class "National" Greens dropped to the absolute low point of 3 percent, the leftist left Alternatives also to their minimum thus far of 1.7 percent. This even though the sensitizing of the Austrians as regards "environmental protection" has not yet reached its climax. After a 6-year "party history," the Green parties appear to have already reached the end, but in the minds of the citizens the Green movement is not yet at its end by a long shot.

In 1979 the first party of ecologists was founded in Austria, today more than 60 are officially registered with the ministry of the interior. The two most promising because they were the strongest factions were found to be some time before the date of the 1983 National Council elections: Around the antinuclear fighter Alexander Tollmann and the Salzburg bogeyman of the middle classes Herbert Fux crystallized the "United Greens of Austria," who are now led by Deputy Mayor Josef Buchner of Steyregg, the neighboring municipality of Linz. The "Alternative List of Austria," however, was welded together from a bunch of leftist intellectuals who did not see all problems solved after Zwentendorf; no leadership figure has as yet emerged from this group, in fact, according to Alternative ideology, no such figure is permitted to emerge.

#### Nearly Every Second Person a "Sympathizer"

At a time when the FRG Greens, united from middle class and leftists, had already entered some provincial parliaments, the split and the quarrel for predominance started here in Austria among the Greens. And there the German "comrades" have been opposition members of the Bundestag for three years and in Hesse are even permitted to perform government work for environmental protection, here in Austria with one exception (Vorarlberg) not even a common election platform has been achieved on provincial level, not to speak of the federal level. This in the face of the fact that the squabblers for the "ecological cake" were aware of an ever stronger protest potential in the population with a steadily growing awareness for the ecological problems: up to 15 percent of the voters can be mobilized for them, up to 40 percent of the Austrians can be gained as sympathizers, it was predicted to them. However, the protest of the voters against the so-called "establishment policy" grew more quickly than the ecological movement wanted to unite. The Alternatives could not get past the traditional bourgeois party structure and the one-sided nationally conscious emphasis of the key factor of environmental protection, the Greens--in phases violently at variance within themselves--could not get past the dogmatic social change programs and the basic-democratic structure of the Alternatives.

Even the citizen favoring the Greens saw, heard and read it almost daily and did not quite understand it. Thus in final analysis it was not surprising that both squabblers--the VGOe relatively barely--failed to get into parliament. But they had not learned anything from that. In the provincial elections in Lower Austria they also marched their separate ways and were unable to even endanger the established rivals. The same picture was offered in Kaernten where once again neither of the two Green groups wanted to change its position and enter into an alliance. Only in Vorarlberg at the provincial elections a year ago a success "crept in," when Greens and Alternatives united and under the leadership of the figurehead Kaspanaze Simma considerably bled the other lists competing in the elections.

But today it appears to be not only the end to the earthy alpine farmer from Vorarlberg. While in Salzburg and in Upper Austria, it was the quarrels of the Green parties and the competition for voters fatal to both which permitted the traditional parties to heave a sigh of relief, a beginning change in attitude towards the organized Greens can be noted lately in the population: In the



past the party followers of the Greens were welcomed while they are now only tolerated. But nobody would like to deny them the political right to exist.

Information on the above is provided among others by those pollsters whose results until a short time ago had made the mouths of those in the Greens parties water with voter potentials, made the mouth water so that Josef Buchner in Upper Austria believed that he would be able to enter the provincial parliament by going it alone, a possibility at which the ALOe trembled. But the pollsters noted even before the provincial elections that the people did not believe that the Greens could cope with the problems criticized by them. And this applies not only to economic or social challenges for the solution of which only marginal segments of the voters consider the Greens-Alternatives competent, but also to the very own field of these parties--the field of environmental protection. While after Hainburg 30 percent of the Austrians still believed the Greens best able to cope with ecological problems, today the figure is only 18 percent. The parliamentary parties none of which attained the 25-percent mark at the start of the year, however added quite well to the confidence. No less than 43 percent of the Austrians agree with the statement that "the Green parties only scold and criticize without showing how to do it better."

According to the opinions expressed in the polls, the Greens even in the eyes of the sympathizing voters are generally regarded as having little impact, as idealists who are quite good to enliven the political landscape without the voters voting for them for this reason. The feeling does prevail in the population that a "fourth force" would be quite good, but the role of the "pike in the fishpond" obviously is no longer taken away from the Greens. The trend seems to emerge that in a time of so many virulent fears the connection to "experienced politicians" is sought once again.

Observers are baffled by the fact that the Green groups have been unable to gain any profit for the advance of Green ideas from the still growing fear of people of an ecological disaster. The caution of the pollsters also results from this fact. The protest potential, which has no political home, roams a great deal and therefore is very difficult to catch at all. And, in final analysis, the Greens are not the cause of the latent protest but only a symptom of a "restless society." The higher educational level, the improved professional qualification, the constant demand for more codetermination and participation and the courting of the mature, upright and critical citizen in the party programs has a different effect on the traditional parties than they thought. The claims for participation grow more strongly than the possibilities as well as the capabilities. In the "restless society" without a new pattern of order, an observable decline of authority occurs everywhere; whether science, educational system or justice are involved, hardly any authority is accepted today without questioning.

It is true, the confidence of the people in the Green parties is also shaken, but the pollsters warn against completely writing them off. The new groups have not yet declined in voter favor below the figures for the 1983 pre-election period and also not below those of the FPÖe. In case of a merger of the Green factions, there are probably more votes obtainable than the sum of



the individual results that can be achieved by these parties. And as long as the genuine environmental problems but also economic and social bottlenecks have not been solved, the Greens cannot simply be thrown overboard, in no case by purely symbolic and statement policy.

#### A Long List of Tasks That Have Not Been Mastered

And the so-called establishment parties continue to face a tremendous packet of real environmental problems to be solved which are closely linked to economic and social challenges--the everyday destruction of the landscape, the decline of the forest, the pollution of the soil, safeguarding the supply with clean water and clean air, the garbage dump, the traffic avalanche....

Here in Austria, 35 hectares of mostly fertile agricultural land disappears every day under asphalt or concrete, thus every day an area as big as 35 soccer fields is "sealed." With all that Austria as sole highly industrialized country has the dubious fame of not having any national park.

Despite increasing financial expenditures, a solution of the problem of water pollution is not in sight. Groundwater and rivers in Austria for years have remained so heavily polluted as if 28 million people lived in the Danube Alp republic. But a significant reduction of water pollution is not to be expected before 1995.

While the Austrian barely 15 years ago produced 180 kg of garbage on an annual average, today he discards already close to 220 kg into the garbage cans.

As regards forest dying, the official government figures of 360,000 hectares of damaged forest and the estimates of scientists of one million hectares continue to be far apart. Thus far, a reduction of sulfur dioxide discharge into the air by one third has been achieved, while the quantity of other "forest killers" such as nitric oxides or hydrocarbons has even increased.

Contrary to official government campaigns which represent Austria as an "environmental pioneer" in Europe, compared on an international level the country is only among the leaders as regards reduction of sulfur pollution of the air and keeping the lakes clean; as regards all other environmental protection requirements, it ranks only under "the also rans."

That is precisely where those affected, the Green parties, hook in: Even if they were to fail, the protest against the policy as it is pursued today will not cease unless the environmental, economic and social problems are truly solved. VGOe chairman Buchner, even after the election defeat in his home territory, shows himself as aggressive: "We are going to invite the establishment not to a wake but to a celebration. The splintering of the most varied Green groups, he said, did not do any good to the cause because the voter does not differentiate between the individual camps. But serious attempts will now be made to get countermechanisms going to finally achieve unity of the Green camp. "We are not dead, they only wish we were dead."

The wording by Ali Gronner, one of the three ALOe federal executive secretaries, is somewhat more precise and at the same time more self-critical: Undoubtedly

a setback has been suffered by the Greens as an organized political force and it is quite possible that the form of the Alternatives-Greens will be replaced by another form in the political spectrum. The next, truly last opportunity for the aspired entry into the National Council consists in the unification of the movement of the Greens.

But without a popular program which extends beyond purely economic questions the possible fourth force at any rate will admittedly remain weak. Therefore the various Green factions are already refining appropriate campaign platforms. The VGOe stresses a tax reform commanding broad approval which is to completely eliminate among other things the wage tax for monthly incomes of less than 16,000 schillings and presents as an alternative the introduction of product taxes for "useless" products that pollute the environment. The ALOe can largely endorse such demands and would even keep extreme demands such as strict reduction of the workweek or strong support for social fringe groups out of the election campaign.

However, the most startling recent event is an attempt to unite all important Green factions. A concrete measure to be mentioned in this respect is the founding of a "Citizens Initiative Parliament" which starts to crystallize around the figureheads of the anti-Hainburg movement and successful individual Greens. In the minds of well known persons, such as Guenther Nenning, Bernd Loetsch or Johannes Voggenhuber, the consideration plays a decisive role in this connection that a latently awakening Green movement which mobilizes around factual issues and exerts pressure on the established parties can be more successful than a special Green party. The events connected with Hainburg are taken as evidence in this respect.

Author of the idea and driving force behind the "Citizens Initiative Parliament," whose early establishment is being vehemently negotiated back and forth behind the scene, is Salzburg city councilor Voggenhuber of the Citizens Lists. With the help of well known and "meritorious" personalities from all Green camps he wants to help strengthen once again Austria's "environmental and civil rights movement." He says that this Citizens Initiative Parliament corresponds to the protest potential within the population far more than the Green "old parties" which are rigid in their structures. The present state of affairs of how policy is made in Austria to Voggenhuber is simply a "disgrace" and against that he would now like to fight with a kind of "Super Citizens Initiative."

The city councilor who is controversial but effective in the "Mozart city," who comes from the same Citizens List with Herbert Fux, would like to see the political structure organized according to the model of the banned Polish labor union "Solidarnosc." Around the circle of candidates of the prominent Green fighters, an advisory circle of scientists and other experts is to be formed and in the third circle liaison people are to maintain contact with the big factions (Green parties, citizens initiatives...).

The campaign program of the parliamentary "Citizens Initiative" is already sketched in rough outlines by "civil rights advocate" Voggenhuber: An absolute key factor in this connection is a profound reform of democracy that is to

free the citizen of any "repression." Freedom of information, involvement of parties in administrative proceedings, the possibility for class action suits by citizens groups against undesired projects or strict control of all decision-makers are only a few of the civil rights that are to be enacted in parliament. Environmental protection ranks only second but a frontal attack is to be launched here, too, within a few weeks. Among other things, Voggenhuber plans to demonstrate that no proceedings have been instituted in Austria according to the forest law to save the forests and so-to-speak wants to pillory one district government after another.

Voggenhuber's initiative has set itself a truly high goal by declaring total war on the present politics. "When we enter parliament, that will be an entirely new parliament. Everything is covered up by day-to-day politics and there is no qualified debate on Austria's future. The biggest ecological catastrophe is in truth the political paralysis of this country," rails the eloquent city councilor, who, according to his own words, under no circumstances wants to enter parliament. On the other hand, the "Citizens Initiative Parliament" already has a "Lech Walesa" at its disposal, for the dismissed labor unionist Nenning is ready to be a candidate. At any rate, the heads of the Initiative hope for 12 to 15 percent of the votes.

VGOe and ALOe leaders have been pretty much taken by surprise and now must seriously think about this juicy nut. Even now there are indications that this nut could choke the Green movement: The mutual warnings of the Green warriors if necessary to want to go it alone once again cannot be ignored. One side says that the Green parties should have realized that they would be unable to enter parliament by themselves. The other side says the organizers of the Hainburg resistance were not enormously successful with their Konrad Lorenz plebiscite.

And discord is already being sowed once again: Voggenhuber would like for the Green "old parties" to dissolve after merging in his Citizens Initiative. ALOe executive secretary Gronner can agree with that, his colleague in the federal leadership, Eisenriegler, however attacked the personnel committee on the Voggenhuber idea with extreme sharpness. VGOe chief Buchner sharply rejects the city councilor's idea and calls the venture as a whole into question as a high altitude flight with a possibly deep drop....

Among the Greens, so it seems, there continues to exist the cold war that started in the preelection period of 1983. What at that time was Fux versus Tollmann is now perhaps Voggenhuber versus Buchner. The names have changed but the constant verbal exchange has remained the same. If peace treaties were to be concluded, the next elections could already be over, namely again without the Greens entering parliament. Looking at it with dark glasses, what could be left over would be merely the gray environmental protection paper on which all once so effectively acting ideas were printed.

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CSO: 3620/152

POLITICAL

DENMARK

LOCAL ELECTIONS: SF GAINS GROUND, PROGRESS PARTY DISAPPEARS

PM211403 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 20 Nov 85 p 1

[Report by Carl Otto Brix, Ole Dall, and Kim Barren: "SF Gains Ground and Progress Party Disappears"]

[Excerpts] The mid-term [local authority] election yesterday was to some extent a confirmation of the countless opinion polls that have been taken in the last few weeks.

Advances were made by the Socialist People's Party [SF] and the Conservative People's Party--mostly by the SF but not on the scale expected. The explanation must be that "Green lists" have made inroads on the SF flank and one party that has suffered significant losses--the Radical Liberals--probably has to put all its losses down to the environmentalists.

Another loser in the election is the Liberal Party which lost one to two seats in one local council after another.

The election's biggest loser was the Progress Party as expected. It has now ceased to be one of the parties represented on local councils.

The Social Democrats seem to have done tolerably well throughout the country, but in Copenhagen things did not go well for the country's largest party. Clear losses have been noted and party chairman Anker Jorgensen told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE yesterday evening that this is probably due to the fact that the Social Democrats did not succeed in making the economic situation clear enough to the voters.

Both Anker Jorgensen and Prime Minister Poul Schleuter (Conservative) were cautious about proclaiming winners and losers but the prime minister did say that he thinks that "things look reasonable" and these modest words obscure the fact that in many local councils the Conservatives succeed the Liberals as the biggest or second biggest party.

Chairman of the losing Liberals, Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen consoled himself with the fact that his party's losses are modest. Ellemann-Jensen pointed out that the "mayor effect" [the popularity of the mayor in a particular council] is reflected in the number of votes cast, either for the Conservatives or the Liberals.

The evaluation that should now be made of the results is that they will not lead to any changes in government cooperation or in the relationship between government and opposition. Gains and losses are not significant enough for this.

But it is very possible that the Conservatives will have some things to discuss with the other three government parties and the Radical Liberals. Even though the Center Democrats and the Christian People's Party have not played an important part in local politics hitherto they cannot be satisfied with the results of yesterday's elections.

These could point to how things will go in the Folketing election which will come within 2 years.

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CS0: 3613/39



POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

#### STUDY REVEALS VARIED ATTITUDES TOWARD GUESTWORKERS

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 7 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Jan: "Germans Don't Consider Themselves Xenophobes--Only Their Countrymen: Surprising Poll Results / Almost Half of Green Voters in Favor of Restricting Family Immigration"]

[Text] Do Germans have an unfriendly attitude toward the 4.3 million foreigners living in the FRG? How do they rate the difficulties of different cultures meeting? What is their attitude vis-a-vis the federal government's policy toward foreigners? To find the answers, the Ministry of the Interior gave a substantial order to the Allensbach Institute for Demoscopy, the results of which are now available. The data contradict the slogan of "growing xenophobia" in the FRG. The climate of opinion is actually somewhat xenophile, although the picture also shows some contradictions. Contrary to their own views, 72 percent of those polled believe that most Germans are against foreigners. At the same time, those "against foreigners" are rejected more by the population than those who are "pro-foreigners." The federal government's policy toward foreigners was approved by 36 percent, and rejected by 35 percent of those polled; 20 percent were undecided.

Compared to other policy areas, such as fighting unemployment, environmental protection, and security policy, the "question of foreigners" is not considered urgent by the populace and is ranked in 29th place. This may be due to the fact that over 50 percent of the 2,257 people polled are of the opinion that practically no foreigners live in their area. Forty-six percent of those polled claimed not to know how many foreigners live in the FRG. About 15 percent were familiar with the number of foreigners (3.5 to less than 4.5 million), 27 percent thought that there were fewer, and only 12 percent believed that there were more. Three-fourths of the adult population have some kind of contact with foreigners, and a large part is played by patronizing restaurants managed by foreigners.

One-third of the population believes that there exist great difficulties in foreigners living together with Germans. But in areas with especially high ratios of foreigners, 42 percent are of this opinion. Through various questions, the pollsters found out that there exists a phenomenon "which could be called the Turkish problem." Although there are also more



"tolerant attributions" than "intolerant attributions" toward Turks--at a ratio of 38 to 34-- , there are more "intolerant attributions" vis-a-vis Turks than toward other foreigners. In addition, their poor knowledge of German and their lack of contact with Germans were pointed out, and the poll result, that Turkish children born in the FRG were conceded the right of German citizenship by fewer interviewees than were children of other foreigners, also points in that direction.

Three-fourths of those polled expressed the opinion that the federal government should pay attention that in future, fewer foreigners move to the FRG. Even 45 percent of Green adherents are of that opinion. Ideas of the CDU/CSU, that immigration of children should be limited to the age of 6, get support from fewer than 30 percent of those polled. Forty-six percent rejected this demand. It is noteworthy that the 6-year restriction finds the approval of 36 percent of FDP voters, although the proposals failed mainly because of the FDP. But 19 percent of Green voters also favor such a restriction on immigration. Almost half of those polled thought that children of foreigners ought to acquire German citizenship. Fifteen percent were of the opinion that they ought to return to their own countries. Voting rights for foreigners were rejected by 52 percent and supported by 25 percent. The remark that foreigners take jobs away from Germans finds little response among the population. Only 5 percent of those who know foreigners believe it, and only 26 percent of people who do not personally know foreigners. Even among those who were classified as "anti-foreigners," far less than half claimed that foreigners took jobs away from Germans. Among trained workers, however, this catchword was endorsed by 37 percent.

Demonstrations by foreigners against political conditions in their homeland were objected to by 56 percent of those polled, and were approved by only 28 percent. As for deportation of foreigners, there was great differentiation according to the seriousness of the offense. Twenty percent demand that foreigners be deported in case of theft; 60 percent reject it. In case of drug dealing, 70 percent demand deportation, and 57 percent demand it for political extremism.

9917  
CSO: 3620/160

POLITICAL

FINLAND

## CENTER PARTY ASSESSES DIRECTORAL STRATEGIES, COLLABORATION

### Center Party's New Calculations

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 10 Nov 85 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] When the Liberal Party (LKP), which over 3 years ago had drifted into a blind alley, sought and got a political sanctuary from the Center Party (KESPU), the decision was the best of the alternatives then open to it, all of which were poor. The time has now come for a reappraisal of the situation. The KESPU is giving up its role of political day-care nurse and the LKP is once again leaving to strike out on its own. It has practically speaking two election terms' time to show whether it will succeed in returning to the national political scene.

Leaders' conclusions reported by both the KESPU and the LKP as to their experiences with the alliance engaged in these past few years give the impression of being frank and honest. The Liberals' small constituency has felt overly uncomfortable with the KESPU which, aside from that, has recently been reacquiring its old cachet of an agrarian party. The KESPU-LKP alliance has also kept several potential groups from joining the LKP because they would have had to espouse the thinking of two parties.

The negative experiences it had in the alliance were the price the LKP paid in order to gain 3 years time to think in a time of need. The next question that arises is, of course, whether it will succeed in making a comeback under its own banner. Neither the LKP nor its predecessor have succeeded in creating a Liberal platform that is sufficiently clear, appeals to citizens and would work in today's political circumstances. With a few exception the problem is one that is familiar to many other of the country's liberal factions as well. So we know that the LKP has its work cut out for it and, in addition, it absolutely needs charismatic leaders to succeed.

Liberalism occupied an important place during our country's political phases, especially during the early days of our independence. In principle it would appear to be clear that, with the state's increasing caretaker hold on the country and the tightening of its grip on the different special interest groups, courageous liberalism and tolerance would be received with

well-deserved sympathy among citizens and especially young people. For the time being, however, it is premature to judge whether the LKP will be able to find the ball that has been lost for a long time now.

The center parties have for a long time now tried to form common election coalitions to overcome those problems that stem from difficult election mathematics. Now an effort to form a centrist election coalition is again being made. As an election strategy move this is only natural. The Center will in any event have to compete for its place between the Conservatives and the Social Democrats and the number of lost votes will only be minimized with the aid of election coalitions.

To the surprise of many people, the Finnish Christian League (SKL), which is completely superfluous as a political phenomenon but which is in this way trying to rid itself of the ultraconservative label it has acquired, has also joined the Center. A centrist election coalition would shape up considerably better for the voter if it were composed of only the three original parties, the KESK, the LKP and the Swedish People's Party (RKP).

#### Center's Ambition for Great Electoral Alliance

Helsinki Helsingin Sanomat in Finnish 9 Nov 85 pp 3,12

[Articles by Anneli Sundberg et al]

[Text] KESK Already Preparing for New Government

The Center is striving for a broad election coalition the size of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] and bigger than the Conservative Party. The coalition recommendation made public by the four parties of the Center on Friday will strengthen the political Center and have a significant effect on Finland's political life. With the aid of a broad election coalition the center plans to get its share of those seats in Parliament that proportionately belong to it in the next parliamentary elections and a Center united in this way will compete with the SDP in place of a bigger party.

This is how KESK chairman Paavo Vayrynen described the effects and objectives of the coalition agreement drawn up by the leaders of the KESK, the Liberals, the RKP and the SKL on Friday.

The diverse composition of the center parties coalition quite obviously has many other objectives as well.

The KESK is trying to gather round itself so much political power, seats in Parliament, that it can aim for the status of a leading government party in the postelection government negotiations and through that the prime minister's portfolio.

The Liberals are aiming at getting into the public eye, on television and radio election programs again, through these channels back into Parliament and a new political ascent. The LKP dropped out of election programs when it

joined the KEPU as a member of the latter and now it is correcting that mistake.

The Christian Leaguers can probably assure their political existence through a coalition with the Center and election coalitions and perhaps add seats in Parliament to the three they now have. Then a coalition with the Center would put the Christian Leaguers into the public eye and even bring them ministerial portfolios too.

The RKP was the most close-mouthed of the coalition partners on Friday. A concentrating coalition does not promise it any especially new benefit.

#### Vayrynen's Initiative

The plan for a coalition of the KEPU, the RKP, the Liberals and the Christian Leaguers that was publicly announced on Friday goes back to last August. The initiative came from Paavo Vayrynen and at first Vayrynen only discussed the dissolution of the KEPU-LKP alliance with LKP chairman Kyosti Lallukka.

As the fall wore on, the structuring of electoral configurations broadened and finally ended in a broad, multigenerational recommendation by party leaders and party secretaries for the KEPU, the RKP, the LKP and the SKL to try to agree on a joint election coalition in the next parliamentary elections in as many election districts as possible, to bring the Christian Leaguers into a centrist delegation and for the four parties to discuss a postelection government coalition in that delegation.

The KEPU, the LKP and the Christian Leaguers carried their coalition plan even further than that. The leaders of these parties agreed that three parties would appear closely united in the negotiations over the government. If the bloc of three decides to enter a new government, the ministerial posts will be divided in proportion to where each party has gotten its parliamentary representatives into Parliament. The agreement furthermore includes an addendum to the effect that, if any one of these three parties does not obtain any ministerial posts at all because of the small number of its parliamentary representatives, that party will "in other respects participate in the government coalition."

A party without ministers would thus, nevertheless, be a government party, would appear in a united government front in Parliament and would obviously participate in centrist ministerial discussions.

The RKP did not consent to appending its name to such a government negotiation recommendation. The RKP will otherwise participate in centrist election coalitions and the coalition, but will negotiate independently for ministerial posts.

The RKP's own policy became apparent on Friday in, among other things, the fact that party chairman Christoffer Taxell was not at the sides of Paavo Vayrynen, Kyosti Lallukka and SKL chairman Esko Almgren reporting on the new plans at a press conference.



## KEPU's Guarantee

Linked with the centrist plan for an election coalition, the three-party agreement on a united appearance in government negotiations is some sort of political guarantee for the KEPU. While the election coalitions will cause the small parties, the Liberals and Christian Leaguers, to acquire seats in Parliament at the expense of the KEPU, the KEPU will, nevertheless, retain its political strength in government negotiations.

In negotiations with the Conservative Party of the SDP Paavo Vayrynen can use the mandates of all three parties, draw on the parties' combined number of seats when they decide on prime ministers and each party's number of ministerial portfolios.

The RKP apparently calculated that the KEPU's guarantee may take ministerial posts away from it and that is why the party excluded itself from this section of the agreement.

"The only difference in comparison with the present situation is that we urge that the Christian Leaguers be included in the centrist delegation. Otherwise, we want to preserve our position as a fully independent party," LKP party secretary Peter Stenlund said on Friday.

## LKP Changes Product Image

On Friday chairman Lallukka explained the Liberals' withdrawal from the KEPU primarily on the grounds of merely technical factors having to do with the elections. LKP activity is reviving and the liberals have been quite successful abroad in the West German, Portuguese and Swedish elections. The wave of conservatism has been halted in West Europe and in Finland too the Liberals could have support, but their KEPU membership prevents them from obtaining it.

Since joining the KEPU, the LKP has not appeared on Yleisradio [Finnish Broadcasting Corporation]. The party has not received any publicity and it is estimated that television has had a great effect on electioneering for the votes of mobile voters in particular. They are now removing the obstacle to publicity by dissolving the party alliance. An independent, registered party gets onto Yleisradio election programs.

Since the party alliance, the LKP has lost its last parliamentary representative. Voters have become estranged from an LKP that is perceived as lacking independence. Three years after the alliance, they intend to correct the mistake at the LKP party congress next June. The KEPU will reach a similar decision at its own party congress in June.

The KEPU and the LKP have figured out that the Liberals can only get into Parliament as a clearly independent party. As many as six parliamentary representatives are gleaming in the eyes of the Liberals.

"In a changed market situation you have to quickly change your product image," Lallukka explained. He thinks that withdrawal from the KEPU will not be

opposed in the LKP. The matter is being discussed this fall in the party cells and next spring in the districts. According to Lallukka, the Espoo liberals' departure from the KEPU was their own solo action.

In Esko Almgren's opinion, the Christian Leaguers have not been invited to join the centrist coalition, but "we will join it." Almgren feels that this is only natural since the SKL got its first parliamentary representative in an election coalition with the KEPU.

The LKP's withdrawal from the KEPU suits Almgren to a tee. Otherwise, it would have seemed as if the Christian Leaguers were going under the KEPU's other wing.

#### Dissolution Elections Will Speed Things Up

Right now, the election composition of the centrist parties is a recommendation by the party leaders, one that will be discussed during the fall and the spring in each party's party organs.

The recommendation was very quickly mutilated for a couple of reasons. In several KEPU districts there were meetings on the weekend and at them they made decisions on the election coalitions. On the other hand, the suspicion has spread in the KEPU that the present government is disintegrating and that there will be dissolution elections this winter. Bearing these in mind, they have had to quickly put together a centrist bloc that is as strong as possible. The Center has taken note of the fact that the SDP blocked the reform of the electoral laws under consideration in the government last summer when the Communist split became obvious. The SDP plans to take over the Communist seats for itself. The KEPU, the RKP, the LKP and the SKL are also now aiming for the same seats with the aid of broad election coalitions.

They are already counting on difficulties with election coalitions in the KEPU party bureau. According to one estimate, all four centrist parties together will get 56 parliamentary representatives, about the same as the SDP, in the next elections. That estimate shows 49 seats for the Conservative Party. Another estimate shows 55 for the Center and 58 for the SDP.

On Friday Vayrynen, Almgren and Lallukka strongly denied conjectures that the Center coalition plan is also a broad front configuration to get Vayrynen elected president in the 1988 presidential elections. The RKP party secretary was absolutely mum with regard to such predictions.

#### SDP Party Secretary Liikanen

SDP party secretary Liikanen recently labeled the new Center coalition agreement an uncommonly naked power play.

"I would not have believed that even KEPU leaders could be guilty of such gross dishonesty with respect to voters. I wonder how far Left the Conservative Party is, in the opinion of the KEPU, since the latter maintains that the Christian Leaguers belong to the Center."



In party secretary Liikanen's opinion, the KESPU has unscrupulously made use of obsolete electoral laws for its own benefit.

"Election coalitions are relics of the past. They confuse voters. It would be much more honest for each to compete on his own terms."

Liikanen remarked that in politics we should observe somewhat different kinds of rules than in the monopolization of the meat industry.

In Liikanen's opinion, the KESPU, which has always played in terms of a mathematical power play, is benefiting at the expense of others.

Conservative party secretary Jussi Isotalo felt that the coalition plans made public by the Center on Friday are typical of the KESPU.

"The KESPU approach is after all: Eat the party during the election term and spit the peel out."

In Isotalo's opinion, separating from the KESPU will give the Liberals some sort of chance to survive. Under the wing of the KESPU death would have been inevitable, Isotalo thought.

He noted that the small parties are in such a precarious situation that they have no alternatives, since the Conservative Party has closed its doors to them.

The only coalition course open to them is the KESPU and, according to Isotalo, it does nothing for nothing.

As it is, in Isotalo's opinion, there is nothing but good to be said of the centrist alliance because it will stabilize the party rank and file.

#### Former Liberal Leader

"We must admit that joining the KESPU as a member organization was a mistake," former LKP chairman Arne Berner said.

Berner was elected to head the party in 1982 when the Liberals had already associated themselves with the KESPU. In the 1970's he was also on two occasions a minister.

"Developments have shown that existing as a member organization of the KESPU has satisfied neither all of our members nor the voters. This is why it is only natural for us to change the bases of coalition.

"An independent party is after all a better alternative."

Berner believes in the Center parties coalition that has just been announced. "I believe that voters' confidence in it will increase too." Berner does not himself any longer intend to return to politics.

## Nikula Will Not Return to the Ranks

A former justice minister and conspicuous Liberal politician, government advisor Paavo Nikula at the time opposed to the bitter end his party's allying itself with the KESU. He is not enthusiastic about the new decision.

"From the start I was of the opinion that allying ourselves with it would in no way promote a centrist coalition. I cannot say how this new decision might correct the mistake made at that time," Nikula evaluated the Friday news item.

"The voters will decide whether support for the Liberals begins to grow now."

Nikula does not himself intend to return to the ranks of the Liberals. "I have now been serving in the Green movement. It has afforded me a suitable opportunity and I am content with it."

Former LKP chairman Jaakko Itala, during whose term the Liberals threw themselves into the arms of the KESU, could not be reached on Friday. On Thursday, when current chairman Kyosti Lallukka told him the news, Itala commented: "A courageous deed."

## Defeats and Debts Drove Them into the Arms of the KESU

In June 1982 the LKP party congress decided that the LKP would become a member organization of the KESU. Party chairman Jaakko Itala had agreed on the matter with the KESU leaders earlier in the spring.

A painful 10-year stretch, during which time the LKP went from one misfortune to another, preceded the decision to join the KESU. Voters disappeared and support declined from one election to the next. Only their debts increased. In the end debts amounting to a couple of million markkas drove the LKP into the arms of the KESU.

Having fostered its principles for 100 years, the LKP was ready for it after the 1982 presidential elections. In the Kivisto elections LKP leaders presented Helvi Sipilä as their candidate for president. The result was 1.8 percent of the vote and a single elector's seat.

For a long time the LKP continued to be a 5 or 6-percent party. In the 1975 parliamentary elections the Liberals amassed 4.3 percent of the vote. In the next parliamentary elections, in 1979, their share of the vote dropped to 3.7 percent and the 9-man parliamentary delegation shrank to four parliamentary representatives.

They were driven down to their lowest figures in the 1983 parliamentary elections engaged in after the alliance with the KESU. Voters penalized the KESU member organization, which got only 1 percent of the vote and was left entirely without parliamentary representatives.

This hopeless course continued in the 1984 municipal elections. The LKP lost half of its some 200 municipal council seats. Its share of the vote was 1.3 percent.

The LKP was founded in 1965. Its ancestors were the Finnish Youth Party (1894), the National Progress Party (1918), the Finnish People's Party and the Liberal League (1951).

During the Finnish Youth years the guardians of liberal principles obtained a support figure of over 10 percent and were represented by nearly 30 members of Parliament.

#### Vayrynen's Day as King

Party leaders can seldom in good faith admire their own genius.

On Friday Paavo Vayrynen had a chance to do so. For the first time in his political career, he succeeded in serving himself so skilfully that it did not seem that he was trampling other people underfoot.

On Friday three satisfied-looking men presented the Center's new plans for a coalition. On Vayrynen's right Christian Leaguer Esko Almgren beamed as though he were saved from perdition. On his left Liberal Kyosti Lallukka was as close to smiling as he ever generally has a chance to be.

Both of them obviously felt that they had made fair deals with Vayrynen.

There remained, however, absolutely no doubt as to who was the undisputed king of the day.

Esko Almgren has scarcely ever dared to dream of anything more than the post of defense minister at the most — Kyosti Lallukka hardly even that.

We suspect that Paavo Vayrynen has even dared to imagine himself in the presidential palace, not to mention the prime minister's post.

The creation of a new centrist alliance will merely work to benefit both goals. If the parliamentary elections go as the KESPU imagines they will, Vayrynen may well have behind him sufficient strength to raise him to the position of prime minister — in either a popular front government or a nonsocialist government.

A prime minister, on the other hand, may easily get to be the father of the country. In Finnish politics this is more the rule than the exception.

His little election partners, the Lallukkas and Almgrens, have scarcely advanced that far in their political calculations. And the Liberals did not even themselves hit upon the expedient of withdrawing from the KESPU; Vayrynen had to advise them to do so.

Perhaps he will have to advise even smaller presidential candidates in their choices as well.

Almgren and Lallukka have in any event committed themselves so solidly to the KESPU that they just do not have a chance of refusing the honor when Vayrynen needs them.

On Friday KEPU members advertised how ingenious in every respect their latest political gamble is; no one has anything to lose.

Judging from their behavior, one might think that the Conservative Party is already crushed and the Social Democrats half crushed as well.

However, not even the cleverest gambler is capable of drafting a perfect election tactic.

The KEPU too may yet have to realize this.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

# EFFECTS OF PRE-ELECTION POLLS ON VOTING BEHAVIOR EXAMINED

Paris LIBERATION in French 28 Nov 85 pp 10-12

[Article: "The Disease of Popularity Polls"]

[Text] In 1984, 460 polls were published. France is a prey to poll mania. Politicians are the most frequent consumers. But although they may never ignore it, not all submit to the dictatorship of opinion curves.

It is a great season for pollsters. Their turnovers are swelling. With the legislative elections a few months off, all the parties are multiplying their orders for them. They are testing their campaign pitches. They size up their candidates for nomination where there are internal rivalries. And the media are proving to be even greater consumers of opinion polls than usual.

This is to say that the times move one to look more closely at the effects of this poll mania on the political chessboard. For the disease is definitely a French one. "The number of political opinion polls published and their place in the public debate in France are much greater than what they are in the FRG, Italy, or Great Britain," Alain Duhamel observed. Admittedly, a lot of opinion polls are taken in the United States but these surveys are mainly carried out privately. In France, the invasion by the media is substantial. About 460 polls were published by the press in 1984.<sup>1</sup>

## Where Does Poll Mania Come From?

First of all, it is General de Gaulle's fault. The appetite for political polls is in the first place the result of the presidentialization of the system. Who will be the next president of the republic? This is the general obsession. "Polls reflect the rivalry which exists in each camp among the claimants," an opinion poll adviser remarked. "One spends one's time wondering who is in the running," Duhamel added. This Elysee imperialism increases the personalization of political life that is already being promoted by television. And of course, polls are never so spectacular and appealing as when they place leaders in competition with each other. They participate in this "horse race" which Michel Rocard likes to criticize.

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<sup>1</sup>Review POUVOIRS No. 33, 1985, "Opinion Polls," PUF



The second guilty party is of course the press. "Opinion polls mean sales," Alain Lancelot asserted. Obviously, people always like to know what others are thinking. But many newspapers also publish polls for publicity. The goal sought after then is to be quoted on the radio and on television. This does not count publications which get started or launch a new format with a poll. LE MONDE's late conversion to opinion polls should also be noted. Apart from LE CANARD ENCHAINE, no one can get away with ignoring them any more.

There must surely be a demand for them somewhere. Some are severe in their judgment. "The proliferation of opinion polls is the by-product of the superficiality of political debate," Pierre Zemor, Rocard's adviser, declared. He denounced "the organized complicity between politicians, the media, and pollsters who go along with the current and promote a simplistic approach." Poll mania encourages the tyranny of appearance which empties public debate of all content. It provides a convenient alibi for those who want to gloss over the problems: there is no point in discussing them because a majority thinks this way.

Another school has developed a much more optimistic analysis of poll mania. "It is movement towards direct democracy which is completely sound," Jean Serise, an adviser to Valery Giscard d'Estaing, maintained. "Polls are worth more than the statements of eminent people," he added. "Opinion polls allow the voter to escape the straightjacket of the election process," Lancelot stated. One no longer chooses among various pre-established slates but can express oneself as one pleases. The communist voter who favors the death penalty, for example, can finally make his voice heard.

However, Joseph Daniel, an adviser to Laurent Fabius, sees in poll mania "a French hankering for referendums and a sort of substitute for them given the fact that we no longer have them." Beyond the "political spectacle," the phenomenon is an indication that the French "like to express their opinions" and it functions as a palliative for "the absence of other means of expression." Bernard Rideau, a former adviser to Giscard at the Elysee, goes even further. In his view, surveys "finally promote the establishment of a modern democracy" because when there are no elections being held, they organize the only "face to face encounters" between rulers and public opinion.<sup>2</sup> Polls are so numerous and diverse that by turns they can bear out the proponents of each of these views.

#### What is the Impact of Opinion Polls on the Political Climate?

It is among politicians especially that surveys can wreak havoc. Public opinion, after all, does not go into ecstasies when Francois Leotard sees his popularity rating climb five points. All specialists agree in saying that opinion polls only have a measurable effect in the world of politics. All the same, they do at least have a noticeable effect on voters. "People vote with the probable results of the election in mind," Lancelot noted. At that point, "behavior is no longer blind but can be sophisticated." The "useful" vote is logically strengthened thereby. Beyond this, the debate concerning the

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<sup>2</sup>Bernard Rideau, "The Illusion of Power," LA TABLE RONDE



influence of pre-electoral surveys on results has never proved anything one way or the other.

The impact of opinion polls on the morale of politicians, on the other hand, is incontestable. "If there were no polls taken, Giscard and Chirac would function better whereas Barre would not function as well," Jean-Pierre Raffarin, a republican party adviser, maintained. For our politicians, it is very painful to be "blacklisted virtually every morning," Duhamel added. The SOFRES [French Opinion Polling Company] monthly "honor list" is awaited with as much fear as a common school report. The law of the hit parade is merciless. One has to be extremely hardbitten to endure an unpopularity which looks as if it will last forever. "Every government has the right to be unpopular," Daniel emphasized, "but it is much harder in a country which publishes 50 surveys a month." The current government endures this "constant belaboring" worse since the opposition press naturally delights in continually reminding it by this means that the real country is not in harmony with the legal country.

Opinion polls encourage opportunism. Imagine if they did not exist. Would Raymond Barre be such a center of attraction? "The delegates who joined him did not all do it because they were against forming coalitions," Raffarin pointed out. "They are also playing the winning horse." "When a politician is successful in the polls, it is amazing how many phone calls and dinner invitations he receives," an adviser to a successful leader confirmed. The political world is literally magnetized by those with good popularity ratings. Would Laurent Fabius be unanimously considered a credible presidential candidate if opinion polls did not exist?

The impact of these ratings, moreover, is compounded by the media. "They reinforce the trend of the polls," Duhamel believes. Real snowball effects can follow. A politician rises in the polls. The press gives him more attention and commentaries on him become more favorable. Radio stations extend him more frequent invitations. Then there is the much coveted transition to prime time television. All this maintains our man's high ratings. "An appearance on Antenne 2's Hour of Truth is worth three points, Serise smiled. Thus the political market can experience fad phenomena and speculative movement. Polls sometimes blow "soap bubbles," cautioned a specialist who warned against "panic movements which, as on the stock market, can temporarily destabilize the market."

This does not mean that opinion polls are responsible for inventing opportunism. Jean-Luc Parodi, an adviser to the IFOP [French Public Opinion Institute], even thinks that "surveys serve as a thermostat" by relativizing the swings of public opinion: "Politicians have always searched for climate indicators; before there were polls, there were partial elections, public meetings, the reactions of their supporters, and the impressions of the press." At that time, they were obsessed with "revealing details" and announced that "public opinion was veering" for no reason at all. According to Parodi, "spontaneously, politicians greatly magnify trends in public opinion." Polls have therefore had a settling effect on the game, at the same time giving more assurance concerning the reality of changes in public opinion.

They constitute a formidable "destroyer of ivory towers," as PS adviser Gerard Le Gall emphasized. "No leader now says: in my branch, my associates think that ..., " he stated. Leaders are less influenced by the impressions of their supporters. To begin with, the changes recorded by the polls had their origin in public opinion. Now public preferences constantly come into the political game as the decisive factor.

The very strategy of the various actors is thus influenced by this awareness of the balance of power. As if by chance, Rocard resigned from the government at the time he was passed by Fabius in the SOfRES survey. The relative weakness of the prime minister last spring also played a part in the quarrel which set him against Lionel Jospin. On both left and right, the expectation of a victory by the right in the legislative elections speeds up presidential strategies and sharpens rivalries.

#### And on Politicians?

Polls are especially important for young people. "Their role is decisive in the victory stage but not in the administrative stage," Raffarin maintained. The politician who is making a name for himself has a vital need for a good popularity rating. This is what establishes his reputation and opens to him the door of the media, particularly television. This is why opinion surveys "give special attention to the second fiddles," a specialist noted. The big game "can get away with a year of unpopularity," Duhamel declared. Even if they suffer as a result, they are no longer prisoners of opinion polls.

While it is advisable to be popular, it is not absolutely essential for success. Mitterrand hit the Elysee jackpot without ever having really won the enthusiasm of public opinion. And no one is wagering a nickel on Simone Veil despite her repeated performance in the polls. Not everyone is in the same position. "Some politicians follow a long distance strategy whereas others take a rendezvous approach," Raffarin stated. Francois Leotard, for example, has a distance to cover which presupposes a rise in the polls, whereas Giscard is hoping above all for a rendezvous with public opinion, which helps him to put up with his present ratings.

Then there is more than one kind of popularity. One has to distinguish between the "image assets" a leader may have and the results in the elections he may draw from it. Simone Veil is favored by a strong current of sympathy but its translation into votes is doubtful. For a long time, Rocard has been in the same position. "There is an enormous discrepancy between indications of sympathy and image, and voter intentions," a specialist warned. Jaffre also makes a distinction between "position in public opinion," measured by popularity polls, and "political position" which introduces a lot of other criteria: the party strategy, the topographical situation on the political chessboard etc. And he warns those who, like Rocard, tend to give more consideration to gaining points in public opinion to the neglect of political details. It is often more important to be in a good position at the crucial moment than to be constantly applauded by those polled.

## What is Their Influence on Political Decisions?

Would they make a decision based on the polls? Never! All the leaders' advisers vigorously reject such a proposal. At the most, they grant their decisive role during election campaigns. First of all, to find out whether they should run. In 1969, it was the polls which finally convinced Alain Poher to enter as a candidate in the presidential elections. In 1974, Edgar Faure withdrew from the race when his ratings in the polls proved disastrous. But, Daniel points out, there are contrasting examples. "In making major decisions, top officials sometimes know enough to shake off the influence of opinion polls that all point in one direction." Thus Giscard ran in 1974 when the opinion surveys indicated that the race would be between Chaban and Mitterrand in the second round. And Mitterrand ran again in 1981 despite a poor showing in the polls.

Surveys enter the picture also where coalition strategy is concerned. But there too, their real influence varies considerably. The clearest example is that of the PS attitude towards the PC in the 1983 municipal elections. The socialists had had surveys carried out in communist municipalities where their influence had increased to measure their chances if there were leftwing primaries. The verdict was that in the large majority of cases, the communist slate would still come out ahead of that of the PS. This information contributed substantially to the socialist decision not to contest these municipalities.

Another example, certainly more ambiguous: again in the 1983 municipal elections, the UDF and the RPR were arguing as to who should head the opposition ticket in Poitiers. The staffs of the two parties decided to settle the dispute by having SOFRES carry out a survey. But in actual fact, the survey was meant to achieve a specific goal, namely, to give the RPR a reason for persuading its local troops to accept the decision to allow the UDF to head up the ticket. A poll is often used as a means of pressure in favor of a decision already made, or to give assurance that it was well-founded.

There are even more ludicrous situations. In 1984, the UDF had SOFRES carry out a survey to find out whether or not it should form a joint ticket with the RPR in the European elections. Its leaders drew opposite conclusions. One group maintained that their electorate wanted a union. The other emphasized that the survey proved that separate tickets would lead to better election results. Finally, the UDF decided to go with the single ticket, and that odd survey served no particular purpose.

Moreover, "the survey method of making decisions is not a good one," Raffarin stated, inasmuch as it claims to replace "a political struggle with a pseudo-scientific one." He stressed that "the idea of the predictive survey is erroneous because in marketing no product has ever been launched on the basis of consumer intentions." In politics, furthermore, things are even more complicated. Even a few months away from the elections, opinion polls cannot take into account the effects of the campaign, which are sometimes decisive. All the specialists agree with him in saying that "surveys determine the form of the address but do not put a policy together."

It is in the orchestration of political propaganda that they play a primary role. In the choice of campaign themes: in the 1984 European elections, the PS



talked a great deal about Europe partly because the polls indicated that the topic went across well. In the choice of slogans: for a recent campaign by Leotard, surveys resulted in the adoption of the slogan "a passion for your freedoms" whereas the majority of his advisers preferred "frankly liberal." In the choice of arguments to use: before any reform of some importance, the government has a survey carried out so as to present it in the best light to public opinion. In the choice of spokesmen to favor in a campaign: Jack Lang is put forward by the socialists because of his good ratings in the polls.

When it comes to the content of political strategy, opinion polls are not of much help. Politicians who suffer from a continuing lack of popularity often wrongly treat it as an image and communication problem. All the polls in the world are of no use at all in showing how to make a comeback. Pollsters are not "gurus," Jaffre declared. Their role is limited to "describing the state of affairs." After that, it is up to the politicians to decide.

### Does Public Opinion Rule?

Is the Fabius government ruled by opinion polls? "On the basis of what they indicate, an intelligent person could reach the same political convictions," Duhamel remarked. Fabius's comments are strongly influenced by the state of mind of public opinion revealed by the polls. But this "government by image" is no doubt a temporary state of affairs, a by-product of the low ideological profile assumed by the government.

Moreover, the theory of government by opinion polls is destroyed by an examination of recent political history. It was not them but the RPR which was behind the conservative swing of Giscard's 7-year term. In business, Barre symbolized opposition to government by opinion polls. In their turn, the socialists have sometimes seriously neglected the lessons of opinion surveys.

The most striking example is that of the education quarrel. Up to 1982, the polls indicated that the majority of French people favored National Education's time-honored unified state public service. But public opinion changed quickly as soon as the reform was presented. "I remember having put a file together on the subject and stressing that, even among the socialist electorate, the project was a poorly conceived one," Le Gall said bitterly. The administration turned a deaf ear to the polls.

The government of France is not determined by pollsters' computers. It is mainly the nature of the public debate that polling mania influences: by allowing citizen X to throw his two cents worth into these oratorical contests, thus breaking some of the rules of the seraglio. Polls also have the felicitous effect of encouraging the renewal of political circles which greatly need it. But at the same time, polling mania is symptomatic of a degree of superficiality in the public debate where the spectacle of rivalries hides the weakness of propositions. Perhaps it is the offspring of the crisis in ideologies. For lack of master thinkers, the man in the street is questioned.

Francois Mitterrand no doubt is one of those whom polls annoy the most. His popularity, which has always gone through striking ups and downs, is too low at the moment for him not to be somewhat bitter about it. Besides, Mitterrand

has never become reconciled to the wave of 1980 polls favorable to Rocard. He is not far from thinking that they contributed to that odious campaign intended to force him into retirement.

At the Elysee, Mitterrand is advised in this matter by Charles Salzmann, an information specialist who is also an old friend of the president. When a question interests the latter, it is introduced into the periodic survey by the SID (Decision and Information Service, placed under the authority of the prime minister). The televised appearances of the president especially are covered by polls. After nearly every one of them, the ESTEL polling institute receives a telephone order for an immediate survey of 200 people. To measure perceptions of the presidential message, the Elysee followed the impact of the televised Mitterrand-Mourousi show by means of a BVA poll. According to several sources, moreover, it seems that the Elysee has been commissioning more surveys since 1981. Rideau, Giscard's former adviser, even thinks that there is now an unhealthy "polling mania." He added severely: "In President Carter's team at the White House in 1980, I observed the same obsession and the same voracity."

The least one can say is that his predecessor, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, was not indifferent to the polls; to the point that he would have the results of popularity polls communicated to him by telephone when he was overseas. As a polytechnic graduate, Giscard likes figures and is very familiar with polling techniques. His adviser had added to the standard repertoire the formation of a "pilot group" of French people questioned immediately after every press conference, major address, or statement. The idea was to feel the pulse of public opinion as quickly as possible but also, Rideau added, to "get a head start on commentators' analyses and to be able to give them a favorable briefing before their papers appeared."

Today, however, Giscard is a bit annoyed with the polls. Disappointed with quantitative polls, Giscard is turning towards qualitative surveys. He avidly devours studies by COFREMCA, since he is eager to be guided by "social-cultural currents."

Raymond Barre is having the opposite experience with the polls. Before, he was miserly with them, but now champions them. "He is one of those who is best able to resist the polls," Duhamel affirmed, because he is "able to discern their seasonal variations." The former prime minister studies the opinion polls himself. His adviser declares that he familiarizes himself with them "with great equanimity" since "his training makes him a good reader." Nevertheless, Barre is not indifferent to them even though he refuses to adapt his statements to the desires of public opinion, for example on the formation of coalitions. His adviser noted, moreover, that his example shows that constancy can pay off in the long term. The faults for which Barre was once criticized (stubbornness, arrogance) have miraculously been transformed into assets (tenacity, lofty perspective), without the person in question having changed in character.

Jacques Chirac is less at ease with the polls. His supporters are suspicious of quantitative studies, which are admittedly hard on him. Every 6 months, a large meeting is organized around him to consider image and communication



problems. On Chirac's side, they say they commission few quantitative studies but these are preceded by qualitative studies (CCA, COFREMCA, and in depth interviews with small groups). On topics in current affairs, they carry out quick surveys by telephone in order to get an idea of the awareness of public opinion.

Michel Rocard's supporters show the same preference for qualitative and long term studies. Pierre Zemor too is attentive to "the analysis of the social-cultural currents" to which COFREMCA pays particular attention. His main concern is that Rocard prove himself to be truly in step with "the deep-seated expectations of public opinion." Notwithstanding, Rocard also is an avid consumer of standard surveys, and often in reading them finds a precious source of encouragement.

Laurent Fabius is another opinion polls enthusiast. He analyzes the institute reports himself. Joseph Daniel systematically sends him all the surveys that appear. The prime minister sometimes asks him for additional explanations by sending him back the document with a question mark. The government chief also has available periodic surveys carried out by the SID, administered by Daniel. First of all, there is a monthly survey carried out by BVA. Those polled are questioned concerning the importance they attach to the different areas of governmental action and the assessment they place on these various domains. There are also questions on current affairs, such as immigration. A given reform might also be checked out with the vocational category concerned. The results of this study enable the government to put up a better resistance to the pressure of a trade organization which does not seem to reflect the views of its grassroots membership.

9824

CSO: 3519/49

POLITICAL

GREECE

KYP DELEGATION REPORTEDLY QUESTIONS KGB DEFECTOR

Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 29 Nov-5 Dec 85 p 13

/Text/ We have reliable information that a team of the Greek KYP /Central Intelligence Service/ has been in the United States for a week now to "interrogate" former Soviet diplomat Sergey Bokhan about what the latter had revealed on the secret espionage service of his country in Greece.

According to information of POLITIKA THEMATA, a 5-man KYP team, reportedly headed by the KYP director and deputy director, was sent to the United States by the A. Papandreou government to learn "firsthand" what Bokhan really knows about persons and affairs in Greece. The team is expected to return to Athens in a few days.

lokhan's "interrogation" took place in the presence of CIA and DIA experts since the former first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Athens had responsibility for matters related to defense and the war industry.

According to estimates of Western diplomats in Athens, the Greek Government and the prime minister personally have already been officially briefed, at least along general lines, about what Bokhan had admitted on the activities of Soviet and other agents in our country.

According to related information, the Americans expressed strong dissatisfaction when they learned that Mr Papandreou was preparing his trusted and good friend Brig Gen I. Alexakis (known as the superior to Dan. Krystallis) to head the KYP team. This displeasure on the part of the Americans obliged the government to finally replace I. Alexakis with a high-ranking KYP official.

As noted by political observers, the KYP team in the United States (1) is following talks between Mr Karlos Papoulias and Mr George Schulz in Washington and Mr A. Papandreou and Michael Armacost in Kastrí and (2) coincides with the "freeze" on the sale of 80 American-built F-16 aircraft to Greece even though the agreement for obtaining high electronic technology aircraft and other secret things was initialed in Washington a month ago.

It is to be noted that Mr Mitsotakis, leader of the government opposition, had previously declared after Bokhan's flight that according to his information espionage activities in Greece had infiltrated high government ranks at the adviser level.

571

CIO: 3521/60

POLITICAL

GREECE

# RESPONSIBILITIES SOUGHT IN 'ANARCHISTS' PHENOMENON

Athens ELEVTHEROTYPIA in Greek 22 Nov 85 p 9

/Article by Thanasis Mitsopoulos/

/Text/ The death of the unfortunate youngster in the tumult of the grievous and unsettling events of the night of 17-18 November, beyond its political implications and a search for specific responsibility, I believe has left untouched the big social problem that lies behind these events.

According to newspaper information, among the youth whom we call either "anarchists" or "independent anarchists" are a large number, perhaps a majority, of 15-20 year olds and the remainder a little over 20.

As we saw them on television erecting street barricades and fighting and destroying and finally being arrested and being packed into police cages we were seized with sorrow while looking at their dirty faces, their unruly long hair and their "wild" beards.

In their expression you could see on the one hand malice and hatred at society as a whole and not only at the police "guardians" of society. You could also discern a tendency toward evil and violence, toward destruction and by extension to crime.

On the other hand, you could see in these youngsters a tendency and longing for popular recognition, their being looked upon as "heros," while they raised their hands in the victory sign when the police were leading them to the cages.

And the question to be asked is the following:

For what "victory" are these youngsters fighting, what "ideals" and what "goals" lead them to the Exarkheia and to other "posts" and what is it that propels them to violence and the manifestation of such destructive mania with its conquests. etc.?

From what homes do these youngsters come every night? Who are their parents and what have they done and what are they doing so that their children might not have reached this irresponsible permissiveness?

From what schools have they graduated, who were their teachers and what was the educational system and what were the ideals it offered them?

In what social environment do they live, move and nourished spiritually, morally and intellectually?

What was lacking and what is lacking in these youthful beings, boys and girls, who grow wild and run amuck in the streets?

Who is behind or to whose interest is it to strengthen and to foment these demonstrations?

What is possibly hidden behind this situation?

So, this is the big social problem that all of us together must see and confront. Unfortunately, however, either we do not see it or --even worse-- see it and let it continue and grow.

The pronouncements and positions taken by all, or almost all, political parties and youth organizations are centered exclusively on the responsibilities and on the omissions of the government and its corresponding offices. And their intention to put the political cost of these events on the government alone is evident.

Not one word about their own responsibility, about the more general social responsibility, about this dangerously ugly situation. To the contrary, and unfortunately, in the way the pronouncements are made and positions taken a tendency and an attempt to strengthen and foster such demonstrations appears, placing responsibility exclusively and solely on the government. They do not see any responsibility on their part. To the contrary, their intention to appear as critics of the government shows up clearly and --even worse-- to gain party benefits.

Of course, no one can maintain that the government does not have responsibility and no one can maintain that the strongest criticism over its omissions, errors, etc. cannot be exercised. This is one side of the matter. But --and here is the problem-- if each of us does not see his own responsibility we will not be able to get to the root of the evil and move forward toward confronting it and solving it.

The phenomenon is a social one; it was not created by the government. We will judge the government on how it confronts it within the context, generally and specifically, of its jurisdictions. However, its being confronted on a more general basis is a duty of us all, parties, youth organizations and other social and other groups and individuals.

It is this responsibility that I wish to stress in this memorandum of mine.

5671

CSO: 3521/60

POLITICAL

GREECE

BRIEF

SOVIET TECHNICIANS PRESENCE--Six Soviet "technicians" provide services to MOMA /Joint Reconstruction Equipment Units/ only when there is need! This was revealed in a written answer by Deputy Minister of National Defense T. Sekhiotis to ND Deputy Vas. Papageorgopoulos who had made note of the presence of Soviets in the armed forces. Mr Sekhiotis, admitting the presence of the Soviets, added that "they work with MOMA's technical personnel and are included in the agreement to repair equipment." The Soviet "technicians" are Vladimir Novikov, Vladimir Lesun, Vladimir Veliko, Vladimir Stanov, Mikhail Pirogov and Anatoliy Bogdan. /Text/ /Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 27 Nov 85 p 9/ 5671

ALLEGED POLL: PASOK WEAKENS--The government indirectly but clearly admitted yesterday that the recent poll conducted by the KYP /Central Intelligence Service/ (according to newspaper information) for Andr. Papandreou, showed that in the first 5 months after the elections, PASOK lost 30 percent of its strength, dropping from 46 percent to 32 percent. As was to be expected, the results of this poll, that neither A. Papandreou nor the government dared make public (but was at the same time revealed by two pro-government newspapers on Sunday), were not denied yesterday by the government spokesman. The poll has, nevertheless, caused panic in Kastrì and its close entourage. According to all indications, panic and fear has reached such a point over the impending speedy collapse that A. Papandreou has accepted suggestions from his "men" to make use of the most ineffective weapon: high-handedness and authoritarianism in a series of issues concerning which he has in the long run been obliged to back off completely because of the way they had developed (problems dealing with information, threats against police because they are carrying out their duties, etc.). /Text/ /Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 3 Dec 85 pp 1, 3/ 5671

CSO: 3521/60



POLITICAL

ITALY

## STUDENTS PROTEST SCHOOL CONDITIONS, POOR JOB PROSPECTS

### National Demonstrations: Student Viewpoint

[Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 3 Nov 85 pp 28-31]

[Article by Gad Lerner with Carlo Gallucci, Fulvio Milone and Martin Trapper]

[Text] Suspicious about the meetings of political parties with the FGCI [expansion unknown] students from Milan to Naples are taking to the streets to demand new classrooms, laboratories and buildings so they can "study better." Is this 1968 all over again? The students give their opinions.

Is it true that a new youth revolt is taking place, notwithstanding all the sociologists' and "studentologists'" predictions and the mood of Europe itself? Italian students have been taking to the streets with cries of "we want to learn." Is it arbitrary to lump them together with their British and German "rabble-rousing" counterparts, who have been wreaking havoc on campuses in their respective countries these past weeks?

If we move beyond official and academic circles, we find people who are willing to make that claim, although they reject the ritualistic references to 1968. Rather they say there is a generation gap that is less innovative but more traumatic: that of 1977. For some time now, the 24-year old Gomma, leader of the anarchistic punks of Milan who go by the name of "Virus," has been telling his friends, "Trust the proof by nines and the underground signals that have been electrifying the university: '68 plus 9 makes 77, and 77 plus 9 is, no doubt about it, 86.'"

Less symbolically and more scientifically, Biagio Longo, director of the People's Radio, the Milan broadcasting station that acts as a coordinating center for the schools involved in the campaign, says, "The idea that something is stirring came to me as I traveled through Spain, France, Germany and southern Italy. I found out that there are hitherto unknown foreign youth grapevines and previously unknown links in the rebellion. I say to the sociologists who are dumbfounded by these new outbreaks of conflict among the youth, 'You should have been surprised earlier, when nothing was happening.' Biagio Longo concludes,

"Indeed, how was it possible--with economies that have been leaving a million people unemployed and an Italian educational system that has been literally falling apart--that some form of organized protest would not break out among the youth at some time?"

#### The Reformers

All this is true, but it is also true that the Milanese students who have taken to the streets call each other "guys" rather than "comrades." They wave signs saying, "We are desperately looking for schools" rather than "No to the bosses' schools." They chant, "The budget isn't fair. Schools now or revolution" instead of the mythical "The proletariat has no nation: internationalism, revolution." In a word, they seem to be good, reform-minded students, and although they wear the "kefiyah" (the scarf of the fedayeen) around their collars, they do so because it is in style or, at most, to say that they have been shuttled from one crumbling structure to another so much that they feel a bit like Palestinians, without a country of their own.

The list of street demonstrations has lengthened since 20,000 students paraded in Milan on 16 October, and 10,000 university students did so in Naples the next day. On 29 October it was the turn of the night schools, and, on 7 November, the Milan university students (who were protesting the high tuition increases provided for in the budget). Then on 9 November it was the turn of the students in Rome, while in Naples there was talk of a national demonstration on 3 December. Not to mention the predictable contagion on many other campuses, such as Genoa (where abolition of the high-school exit exam was demanded) or Bari (where the university residence halls were occupied). It does not seem to be a flash in the pan, especially since for the first time in 10 years independent student coordinating groups have been appearing on campus, and they have been suspicious or even hostile to organized political groups.

#### The Girls of '85

They are Julia and Gaia of the Second High School of Arts; Viola, from Itsus; Maristella, from Caterina da Siena; and Pierpaola, from Vespucci. They are all between 16 and 18 and have started a new student movement. They are more pragmatic and concrete than their male comrades, perhaps because they say they have a more urgent need for the school to help them somehow make a place for themselves in society. The girls have taken charge of the meetings, put school administrators on notice that students have a "right to learn," and filled the demonstrations with color and "creative" slogans.

"We don't really know why, but this year we attracted 600 students to an unscheduled meeting, while last year there were only a dozen," says 16-year old Viola Vitali. She says she sympathizes with the punks and independents "because political parties like the FGCI and Proletarian Democrats remain outside of our spontaneous movement." She also says, "I do not support the various autonomous grouplets that have nostalgic illusions about the 1970's and would like to make the same mistakes all over again, beginning with violence." How come the students have suddenly

begun to fill the groups and meeting halls that were so recently deserted? "Because the odyssey of the 1,200 students without a school in the Second High School of Arts has made people aware of the poor conditions we have to work in and have created solidarity," Viola answers.

#### A School in Pieces

The case of the Second High School of Arts, which has been without a usable home for 4 years, has become known to all of Italy (and it is the only case that has been resolved, thanks to emergency aid from the Tognolo union). It must be admitted that it has acted in an unusual way to stir public opinion. It has been a beacon to other teenagers, who ask such questions as: "Why should it be the norm for us to have a schoolroom in a basement, to have to use a wall full of holes for a chalkboard, never to have a chemistry lab or a gymnasium for our exercise classes?" At a time of budget cuts, these questions are liable to be explosive.

Extreme cases are hardly lacking. In the center of Milan on Friday 25 October, young people gathered to shout "We want to cook!" They were students from the Vespucci hotel school, and they did not have the kitchens necessary for their lessons. The main gym is a safety hazard; the one in their annex is too small and "unsuitable for physical education." It is not possible to transfer even a few of the extra classes to a neighboring elementary school because the child-size fixtures would have to be replaced (estimated expense: 35 million lire for 6 toilets). If this is happening in a school built no more than 25 years ago, you can imagine what the others are like. Triple shifts are the norm in Naples, and three-fourths of the buildings in which the 120,000 high-school students attend classes were not constructed for that purpose. In Rome, 25 schools have already gone on strike this year because of structural problems.

#### The Area of the Rabble-Rousers

But the problem of the "good guys" and "bad guys" appears even in Italy. The movement had been growing gradually, arousing curiosity in various quarters and gaining sympathy even in the most moderate public opinion when demonstrations began to be invaded by "skinheads," punks or black-jacketed youth wearing kefiyahs to disguise their faces. In Milan, there were attempts to occupy the buildings on Via Prinetti, where the students of the Second High School of Arts want to be located. There was a battle with the militants of the Proletarian Democracy in the courtyard of the Statale, which was played up in the media as nothing less than the Autonomy groups all over again, and they were accused of "infiltrating" the demonstrating students.

Actually, the matter is more complicated than that (otherwise how could even the nonviolent female students of the Second High School of Arts have any sympathy for these so-called "autonomists" when the students were already confronting the "politicians"?). The "Arabizers" and "hards" who want to put the movement on a confrontational basis have not just sprung

up out of the ground, and they should remind us of the experiences of other European countries. A short summary is in order; in recent weeks the police implemented the protective procedures ordered by the new police chief Antonio Fariello and arrested more than 1,000 young people in their traditional Milan meeting places on Via Torino, Piazza Leonardo, and Lambro park. They took away 400 at a time, and another 400 young people escaped, leaving behind a total of a few ounces of light drugs on the ground. Is it any surprise that thousands of students seeking solidarity, whether disorganized or organized in small groups, should also be found in school? It is a fact that at least a quarter of the teenagers in the demonstration were wearing the "alternative" look, especially the casually-dressed art students. Some of them may frequent meetings places such as the Leoncavallo, the club on the Via dei Transiti (which publishes the student newspaper ANTIVENTO), or the house on Piazza Bonomelli occupied by the punks of "Virus." A few, at the moment, are shouting the slogan "Out of the ghetto, out of the cage, make it or break it, let's show them our rage." But the independent organizations of the occupied schools have discussed the police raid at length, and it is not important that the school's student coordinating committee met in the "autonomous" headquarters on the Via Leoncavallo in its initial stages.

Not all the Italian "rabble-rousing" students are average students, but this does not mean much. Let us listen to Davide, at the Leoncavallo, who recently returned from a year among the "alternatives" of Berlin: "We felt we were a part of the same movement with the black youth of Brixton, Liverpool, and Birmingham, with the Dutch "krakers" who protested the pope's visit, with the "Autonomen" who confronted the police in 20 German cities. It is no coincidence that we have adopted the same symbol throughout Europe: a lightning bolt through a circle." It is true that these northern European youth movements have little to do with schools, but it is also true that in no other European country is secondary and higher education in such disarray and ridden with social conflict as in Italy. How will it be resolved? Will the "good guys" or the "bad guys" win? The answer will come soon. Meanwhile, it can be predicted that the children of '85 will become even more numerous on Italian streets. They are waiting for reinforcements from the universities. In the universities of Rome, Milan and Naples, they can be counted in the thousands.

#### Goodbye to the Backslide: an Interview with Mario Capanna

In these days of unexpected student activism, it seems almost obligatory to question an "expert" such as Mario Capanna, a leader of the 1968 student movement. He is now a deputy and secretary of the Proletarian Democracy.

[Question] They say that the pragmatic students of '85 are a lot different from you. They also say that theirs is a reform movement.

[Answer] I think that definition is ridiculous. In 1967, on 17 November to be exact, we occupied the Catholic University of Milan for the first



time in history. We weren't asking for the moon or even revolution, just that they not raise registration fees. Every movement is born and develops from the real contradictions it perceives. It would be stupid to claim the opposite.

[Question] So, do you foresee a new 1968?

[Answer] I would like to, and I see a healthy fear in many of my opponents. I think it's terrific that Montanelli's got the shakes. But I don't think we're in for a battle of that size. At least two conditions are lacking: international events of earthshaking proportions and competition with other movements for growth, especially among the workers. True, though, there are positive signs. I am very pleased at the students' ability to be surprised.

[Question] Ability to be surprised? What does that mean?

[Answer] It is a great thing to consider the potential value of their sincere surprise at a democracy that shows it is so weak and decadent that it can't even give them a classroom. It shows how false and artificial it is to think of young people as just bakers or rock fans. It's not true. Now that the student ferment in Milan has spread to other cities, this recurrence of youth activism shows that there are live coals under the ashes, and they are coming to the surface. It's the beginning of the end of a long backslide into apathy.

#### FGCI's Objectives

Milan L'UNITA in Italian 2 Nov 85 p 2

[Interview with Pietro Folena, national secretary of the FGCI, by Romeo Bassoli: "The Students of '85? They Have a Lot at Stake"; in Rome, date of interview not given]

[Text] The Milan movement has been echoed in dozens of schools with concurrent protests in Bari, Palermo, Cagliari, Udine and 40-odd middle-sized and small towns all over Italy. There have been TV debates and whole newspaper sections devoted to the issue. What has become of a generation that was going to be remembered only for the make of its shoes and jackets?

"The actions taken this week," says Pietro Folena, national secretary of the FGCI, "can be compared in breadth only to the pacifist movement. However, it is surprising that the strongest push for classrooms comes from Milan, although there as elsewhere there have been outbursts against the budget allocations. The reason for that is quite understandable; the budget shows that schools are considered a superfluous service. It is a symbol of injustice; if it is worth anything, it is worth more than what is being paid."



[Question] A lot has been said about the organization of these student demonstrations and their relationship to political parties.

[Answer] The initiatives of this week have been strong despite the people who organized them, whether they were individual coordinators, small committees or, in many cases, the League of Secondary-School Students federated with the FGCI.

[Question] The FGCI is a new presence.

[Answer] Yes, but be careful. The League of Secondary and University Students has recently been experimenting with a truly new structure. It is no longer a traditional political organization--such as the FGCI--but a component of student mobilization. The student organization has been a guiding light in the FGCI, not the other way around.

[Question] Would it be very difficult to join this movement with all those young people who have a completely new relationship with politics?

[Answer] These students reject politics as the reason for mobilizing and as the purpose of demonstrating. Rather, they are using politics as a means of achieving their objectives, however large or small they may be. It is up to political organizations to change the students' "I'll use you as long as you serve me" attitude into a more lasting relationship.

[Question] But the students are not optimistic. Problems arose with the pacifist movement in recent years.

[Answer] Yes, because political organizations imposed themselves on the movement and frustrated its larger possibilities. The students know that. That is why they kept the DP [Proletarian Democracy] and its banners out of their procession. It would obviously be proper to exclude the FGCI, if it wanted to do the same thing.

[Question] What about violence?

[Answer] This is a practical-minded generation that is asking the politicians to help them achieve some objectives. Do the students see the PCI, a unified national political force, as being sensitive to their needs? The PCI can "serve" like any other party that may make itself available. But it must respect the students' absolute independence (and the League of Secondary School Students is watchfully jealous of that independence.)

[Question] It has been said that even you have insisted more than once that the "sign" of this readiness to take part in the campaign cannot be fixed once and for all. In short, are the youth leftists or not?

[Answer] I think the students are not ready for adventures of any sort. But wrong answers may be given to the students' demands. Take CL [expansion unknown], with its Parsifal, its private religious schools and culturally homogeneous classes. Or take an individualistic response: "Don't worry about your friend, just think about yourself."

[Question] But these children hope for a form of individual education for the future, and they are concerned not about selection but about having the means necessary to achieve success as men and women who have a good education.

[Answer] These youth are the children of the third industrial revolution. They know that information and knowledge are decisive and that new forms of independent work are emerging. However, an individualistic response would cut out 90 percent of these children. What I would like to see, rather, is increased awareness that school conditions, the increase in university fees, the study of outmoded ideas, and the absence of reform are obstacles to everybody's individual achievement. This is what is at stake in these demonstrations: achieving a transformation of education so that everyone is guaranteed the right to learn and at the same time receives an education tailored to his personal needs.

[Question] Let's look closer to home. How great is the risk that this movement may fold in 6 weeks?

[Answer] I think the national strike of 9 November and the demonstration in Rome on 16 November were correct options and will help the movement grow, because they are moments in a campaign that is going from school to school and town to town and growing into a nationwide movement. Even in the recent past, national objectives were superimposed upon the original motives of the protest movement and canceled them out. Now, on the other hand, the struggle is continuing with concrete targets like local and provincial governments and the national budget. Of course there is also the need for an initial political breakthrough. A struggle must be made for new investment in schools, and fee increases will have to be blocked. The date of 16 November saw the opening of talks with the ministry on this subject. But we must be watchful. Woe betide anyone, the FGCI for example, who wants to force the struggle into a narrow opposition to financing, as though that would decide the fate of the Italian secondary school and university system. That would be a political mistake. I think it is much more important, rather, that the present movement organize the spread of its new ideas and that it tie in with initiatives for youth employment, which is a large labor market, as Torre Annunziata used to be.

[Question] What can the PCI contribute?

[Answer] I think the whole Left must respond politically. The first response should be on high-school reform. Events are making breakthroughs possible. As for the PCI, I think this new movement needs to feel that the party is open to it and is ready to sustain the present campaign.

Student Demands

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 2 Nov 85 p 2

[Interview with Giancarlo Testini by Dino Tieri: "But This is Not a New 1968"; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] According to the DC political official for education, today's youth are making concrete demands, and the ideological component is relatively less "worrisome." Their parents have voted in smaller numbers. Politicians must respond adequately to expectations.

Given the data on the increase in the student vote (based on temporary figures released by the PI [Ministry of Education] 5 percent more students than last year participated in student organization elections), claims of "victory" are beginning to emerge. The main candidates in the contest were the Catholics and the Left. On Thursday, the Communist youth maintained there are "clear signs" that the candidates of the "Left and progress" were the winners.

The Catholics of the Popular Movement yesterday declared the success of their coalition, citing in particular a "significant victory" in Milan (where, according to MP [expansion unknown] the Catholics won 45.5 percent; the Left, 35 percent; the lay group, 8.7 percent; the "spontaneous" candidates, 7.5 percent; and the Right, 1.3 percent).

It may never really be possible to know for sure who won and lost, because there are a lot of lists of candidates that cannot be assigned to one area of the spectrum or another, and there are just as many cases of crossover tendencies within lists.

All that is certain is that the increase in youth participation is rivaled by a decrease in their parents' participation. This is particularly significant considering that student demonstrations have taken place in many towns in recent days and that, with the support of the PCI and the DP [Proletarian Democracy], a school strike is planned for 9 December and a "march on Rome" for the 16 December.

We asked the official in charge of education policy for the DC, Giancarlo Tesini, the following questions on the significance of the vote for the school organizations.

[Question] How can the increase in student voting participation be viewed in the context of the themes of the protests of a few days ago?

[Answer] The students' great interest in their schools and studies is not new. It means that the students are confronting the educational system, especially the high school system, with the knowledge that the future is uncertain and with the hope that they can become competitive in the labor market. The students are asking more of the schools in terms of teacher qualifications than structure.

[Question] Are the recent demonstrations comparable to those of 1968 or not?

[Answer] The protests to date are not as ideological as they were then. I think they are dealing with concrete issues. They are not demonstrating against the institutions but for their improvement; the increased participation in student organizations is evidence of this. This confirms the validity of the response that the politicians made to the "old" protest by creating participation within the institutions.

[Question] Along with the increase in student participation, how can the decrease in parent participation be interpreted?

[Answer] One of the motives for the parents' initially massive vote was the need to do everything possible to reestablish their role with respect to their children at a time when many elements of the youth seemed to be turning away not only from the institutions but also from their families. They did so by being closer to them and by contributing to their education by participating in the school system. From the parents' point of view, the situation is not as difficult as it was then, and they obviously feel this need much less. As it happens, they are less worried about this aspect.

[Question] Do you think the present situation is a positive one?

[Answer] Aside from the very serious employment problem, of course, the present situation is positive because the attitude of young people is not to reject the institution as such, and politicians ought to realize the constructive aspects of this. The students' motivation is therefore much more of a challenge to politicians than confrontation was. It would be unpardonable to fail to respond adequately to the students.

[Question] You recently said that the political parties should engage in severe self-criticism. What did you mean?

[Answer] Speaking for my party and the great responsibility it has held and still holds for the school system, I first want to mention the historically great progress that education has made in recent years, but I also want to warn people that we must hasten to overhaul the system. We are now paying the bill for delays, however justified, in solving problems such as the reform of high-school education. We must forcefully pursue necessary innovations, and the other political parties realize this, too. However, it will not suffice to legislate reform; for it to be effective, we will also have to consider the present system of administration.

[Question] You have always stressed reforming educational administration. Why?

[Answer] The administration should make the institution function effectively, and if the present system fails to meet present needs, all the less will it be able to meet those of the future, when the school system

will have to be much more adaptable and dynamic with respect to cultural and educational demands. It is vital that educational administration be made fully functional, and, in the final analysis, that is precisely what student demands center on. Just think of the organizational demands created by raising mandatory schooling to 10 years. We will have a new expansion of the number of students in the upper grades, and with the present problems we will certainly not be able to deal with it in as timely or flexible a manner as we ought to.

[Question] What do you think of other motives for the protest and the increase in fees?

[Answer] High school reform will incur a financial cost that everybody will have to help pay for. If families are called upon to make greater sacrifices for high schools, then the national government ought to guarantee that this does not compromise the students' right to learn. A popular party like the DC cannot ignore the risk that the burden on families might compromise the right to an education. It is therefore necessary that merit rules be adequate to maintain the school as a social achievement. A policy of indiscriminate increases could cause us to take a step backwards instead of the step forwards that we want to accomplish.

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POLITICAL

NORWAY

# WILLOCH IN TROUBLE OVER SECRET MEETINGS WITH PROGRESSIVES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Margit Silberstein: "Secret Conversation with Hagen Gives Willoch New Problems"]

[Text] The sigh of relief at having averted a government crisis only managed to be a slight inhalation for Norwegian Prime Minister Kare Willoch, because when he maneuvered himself out of one situation dangerous to the government, the next one was waiting in line.

So far, however, the prime minister has shown good survivability.

There is turbulence in the Norwegian Storting. It is directed against Prime Minister Kare Willoch's Conservative Party from all quarters, from both inside and outside the party. Following the election in September the non-socialist block had 78 seats in the Storting. The socialist block had 77, and the party in the balance position, as they call it in Norway, meaning the weighing-master position, is again the Progressive Party.

The parliamentary situation is undesirable for the government, which must guide its bills through the Storting. In the first place there is the budget. But for the person in the balance position the parliamentary situation can be a pure blessing. The weighing-master in the Norwegian Storting is Carl I. Hagen. His Progressive Party was cut in half in the election, down to two seats, but his influence increased and Hagen can now wave his baton with renewed frankness and self-confidence.

In matters of tax policy the Progressive Party can be compared somewhat with the Conservative Party in Sweden. There are also certain similarities with the Sweden's Center Democrats and Progressive Party.

Not Acceptable

Carl I. Hagen and his party are not considered acceptable in polite society, and none of the other party leaders really want to be seen in Hagen's

company. On election night Kare Willoch announced in the most definite terms that he had no intention of cooperating with Hagen. But the principled prime minister was inexorably confronted with another reality in the Storting. He did not want to, but he had to in order to survive.

And so far it seems that the Willoch government has not found a proper strategy for dealing with this. That was indicated a few days ago when Willoch was strongly criticized by his coalition partners in the Christian People's Party and the Center Party for having dealt under cover with Carl I. Hagen, because the middle parties want even less to do with Carl I. Hagen than the Conservatives.

### 53 Wishes

Therefore they did not appreciate it when they found out that Willoch had quietly discussed Hagen's list of 53 wishes. Hagen has 53 wishes, more or less, that he wants to sell to the government. The list varies from prohibition against furloughs for rapists to abolition of the prohibition against purchasing parabolic antennas.

In exchange Hagen promised to see to it that the government's budget bill goes relatively unscathed through the autumn budget hearings. And thereby Prime Minister Kare Willoch would avoid advancing so-called cabinet questions when the budget is finally dealt with in the Storting in December.

Willoch has actually announced his departure if he does not get a majority with him on his budget bill in December. A new election could never take place in Norway because the country does not have the right of dissolution of parliament. But the prime minister can naturally threaten to resign if he does not have sufficient support on decisive questions such as the budget. But even if Hagen insists strongly, it is most unlikely that he would go against the government, and thereby help the socialists to attain government power.

So far Willoch has managed with the tip of his nose above water. He passed the first obstacle in the finance debate when his tax and fees proposals were approved by the Storting.

### Expensive Arrangement

And the other day the government reached an agreement with the Labor Party, after much toil and effort, on pensions. But it is expensive to get the opposition on your side. The agreement was 500 million more expensive than what the government said that it could accept from the beginning.

It is not only the budget which makes life dangerous for Willoch and his government. Capitulation was a word which was used when the Conservatives

gradually agreed to vote for a Swedish-Mexican proposal in the UN about freezing the number of nuclear weapons in the world. Before a decision was reached the disagreements within the government were great and many feared a government crisis.

And now there are newspapers which are speculating whether Willoch will call a cabinet question over where our income from the lottery should go. The socialist opposition, in an unholy alliance with the Progressive Party has decided that a certain amount should go to the sports movement. The Conservatives, led by Willoch, believe that the opposition is too generous to sports, and demand a lesser amount.

Sanctions against South Africa are another area in which Willoch and the Conservatives are divided, not only from the opposition but also from their government partners. Willoch does not agree with public registration of ships which sail to South Africa. His reasoning is that it would hurt Norwegian shipping more than South Africa.

#### Replacement

If it is any consolation for Kare Willoch, his forced partner in cooperation, Carl I. Hagen, also has problems on his side. Apart from internal criticism against the party leader, Hagen was recently forced to replace two of his members in the Oslo Municipal Council. That drastic action was taken after the two party colleagues threatened to vote in a socialist chairman in the council if they did not get better and more highly paid positions in the party.

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

PCP'S ~~PROPOSED~~ ALLIANCE WITH PRD

Don JORIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 14 Nov 85 p 32

[Text] The secret ~~general~~ of the PCP, Amaro Cunha, said that he was willing to ~~enter~~ alliance with the new party which he always calls "President Eanes's party."

During the press conference that he gave yesterday in Rome, Cunha said that "to be called pro-Soviet is more than offensive, it is even abusive since it is judgmental. The Portuguese communist party has full sovereignty and it is not fair to make such a judgment, especially where it is a question of a need to clarify," he stated, answering a question concerning whether or not his visit to the Italian communists might mean a change in the PCP's pro-Soviet line toward becoming more Europeanist.

Cunha pictured the visit as an exchange between two Western communist parties whose positions differ on most questions, both domestic and foreign policy, but for which it is essential to exchange ideas, especially at a moment in which the international situation is full of new situations.

"When we are asked if we are becoming more Europeanist and less pro-Soviet, I think that that is a reference to Portugal's joining the EEC, a matter on which the PCI has a position very different from ours. We continue to oppose it, we are familiar with all the agreements signed on fishing, services, agriculture, etc., and we consider that it will be a real disaster," he stressed.

Opening the meeting--the longest by a political leader with journalists in the Italian capital--which lasted more than two hours, Cunha, weighing the Portuguese political scene, took delight in the latest electoral results and, referring to the PSD, stressed the fact that this party has been capable of criticizing its errors of alliances with the socialists and its capacity for renewal by presenting a new candidate, Cavaco Silva.

Reaffirming the PCP's opposition to the new government, Cunha went on to say that it was necessary to make President Eanes's new party viable for the stabilization of the Executive, recognizing nevertheless that for the new party that would be very risky.

Admitting the eventuality of new elections as a consequence of unusual and particular circumstances which will take shape in Portugal after the presidential

elections, Cunhal stressed: "It is still too early to be talking about alliances, but if I have to make a judgment on the new party, I think that it is essentially democratic and has possibilities of making its mark on national politics. I think that its participation in the last elections was positive, but it may not be in the regional elections.

9895/7051

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POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

REVIEW OF 1976-1985 GOVERNMENTS, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 9 Nov 85 pp 20-21-R

PARTY COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1976-1985)												
Assemblies	Parties					With Fewer Than 10 Deputies*						Total Deputies
	PS	PSD	PCP APU	CDS	PRD	MDP	UEDS	ASDI	PPM	UDP	Greens	
Constituent (1975-1976)	116	81	30	16	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	250
1st Natl. Assm. (1976-1979)	107	73	40	42	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	263
2nd Natl. Assm. (1979-1980)	74	80	44	43	-	3	-	-	5	1	-	250
3rd Natl. Assm. (1980-1983)	66	82	39	46	-	2	4	4	6	1	-	250
4th Natl. Assm. (1983-1985)	94	75	40	30	-	3	4	3	-	-	1	250
5th Natl. Assm. (1985- )	57	88	38	22	45	3	-	-	-	-	1	250

Source: National Assembly Record, 1985

\*Appearing here are only the elected party representations with their own acronym or through coalitions (APU, FRS, AD). Total deputies of the PCP/APU in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th National Assemblies encompass those from the MDP and the deputy from the Greens; the result of the PS in the 3rd national Assembly likewise encompasses the deputies of the UEDS and the ASDI, elected through a coalition (the FRS).

# Rise and Fall of Constitutional Governments (1976-1985)

Govt.	Prime Minister	Type	Parliamentary Support	Reason for End	Duration
I	Mario Soares (PS)	one-party	minority (PS)	Removed by Natl. Assm (lost vote of confidence)	7-23-76 to 12-7-77
II	Mario Soares (PS)	coalition (PS/CDS)	majority (PS/CDS)	Dismissed by PR	1-30-78 to 7-28-78
III	Nobre da Costa (Ind.)	Presidential Initiative	-	Removed by Natl. Assm (Rejection of Govt. Program)	8-29-78 to 9-14-78
IV	Mota Pinto (Ind.)	"	-	Dismissed by PR at request of the PM	11-22-78 to 6-11-79
V	Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Ind.)	"	-	Dissolution of Natl. Assm and Elections	8-1-79 to 12-27-79
VI	Sa Carneiro (PSD)	Pre-Electoral Coalition (PSD/CDS/PPM)	majority (PSD/CDS/PPM)	legislative term	1-3-80 to 10-14-80
VI[sic]	Sa Carneiro (PSD)	"	"	death of the PM	10-15-80 to 12-4-80
VII	Pinto Balsemao (PSD)	"	"	Dismissed by the PR at request of the PM	1-9-81 to 8-14-81
VIII	"	"	"	"	9-4-81 to 11-23-82
IX	Mario Soares (PS)	Post-Electoral Coalition (PS/PSD)	majority (PS/PSD)	Dismissed by the PR	6-9-83 to 7-12-85
X	Cavaco Silva (PSD)	one-party	minority (PSD)	-	11-6-85 to - - -

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

BRIEFS

LIBYA DENIES MADEIRA INVOLVEMENT--The Libyan ambassador to Portugal, Nuri Mohamed Betalmal, denied the existence of "any link between Libya and the FP-25," adding that "the Libyan people have great admiration and esteem for the Portuguese people and would never get involved in adventurist projects." Nuri Betalmal, who was speaking to journalists on board the Libyan ship "Toletera," which is to be repaired in Lisnave, likewise stated "the news reports to be untrue concerning Libya's involvement in a plan of independence for Madeira." [Text] [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 14 Nov 85 p 19] 9895/7051

CSO: 3542/35

POLITICAL

SPAIN

ALZAGA COMMENTS ON NEWLY-FORMED POPULAR COALITION

Madrid EPOCA in Spanish 7 Oct 85 pp 16-21

[Interview with PDP leader Oscar Alzaga by Pilar Urbano; date and location not specified]

[Text] Simultaneously entering the baggage of the top-of-the-line politician, whether he likes it or not, are the academic record, the tensions, the brilliant or incisive speech and the dominant physical defect... If we talk about Fraga, mention must be made of his erudition, his corpulence and his nostalgic gaze. In describing Pujol, one must cite his undaunted fortitude, his constant colds and his habit of loosening his shirt collar. So too, in the case of Oscar Alzaga, I must say that he is from Madrid, born in 1942, with a degree in political law, president of the PDP [Popular Democratic Party], a Christian Democrat, an eminent jurist, and a cautious, balanced man; he is shy, colorless and non-magnetic; a little known political expert; an intense young man daring to deal with lofty affairs; and, at the same time, a dense mature man climbing those heights unhurriedly and without panting. I also have to say that he is a leader without an image, and he knows it: "I am not a charismatic leader... and there are individuals in my party who are more brilliant than I."

And, completing his baggage, there is a well-modulated, low-key voice, an exquisite "politesse" of the kind that is no longer observed...and two looks: the one of the eye-which-gazes, and the one of the eye-which-gazes-and-sees. If it is a defect, it is perfectly controlled: one look which is attentive, keen, warm and scrutinizing; and another look which is haughty, unpleasant, disdainful and aloof. Both are very blue, like his shirt and tie this morning. We converse in his lawyer's office, which he shares with Gregorio Maranon and Salvador Sanchez Teran. He has requested "coffee and don't turn any calls over to me."

[Question] "Being of the center and excluding oneself from the center is, dictionary in hand, an eccentricity." Do you recognize this sentence?

[Answer] Ugh,...at best, it is even my own!

[Question] Yours, yes. I picked it up in 1977. You are of the center; you are in a rightwing coalition. Isn't that something "eccentric"?

[Answer] In the electoral pacts that have just been signed, it is said that the Popular Coalition aspires to constitute a balanced right of center offer to be directed toward both electorates. And I have always stressed the need for expanding that coalition toward the center. I am not of the right, nor a convert to the right; nor will PDP become diluted in the right.

'Let AP Allow Us To Be As We Are'

[Question] So you are with the right in order to center it....

[Answer] I have never talked about centering the right, only the joint offer. The right is the right, and it has no reason to move to the center; and the center is the center, and it has no reason to become the right. Both AP [Popular Alliance] and PDP must maintain their own convictions, without an embarrassed feeling. I would ask AP to allow us to be as we are, with the assurance that we shall not attempt to change either its beliefs or its positions. We must flee from one danger: that the Popular Coalition formula may be left colored by one of the ingredients, to the detriment of the other and of the whole group.

[Question] Avoid having Fragism dominate....

[Answer] Avoid having the rightwing color dominate, and letting that prevent the attraction of the center voters. Because the electoral victory is staked on the center. Whoever dominates the center of the field, wins the soccer match. Popular Coalition can win the elections (I am not saying that it is going to win them, I say that it can), on the condition that we contact and also persuade Spaniards who, at the time, voted for UCD [Democratic Center Union], later voted for PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] and now have no objective reason to extend their confidence in socialism.

[Question] But how will a gentleman admit that he was mistaken in 1982 and, furthermore, make the acrobatic somersault from left to right? That is very difficult!

[Answer] Truly, it is not easy: but no one has a right to become head of a political force if he is only capable of coping with easy tasks. And it is not impossible, not by a long shot! Look: 1977 and 1979. What? There was no natural Socialist majority; nor is there today. What happened in 1982, and this must not be overlooked, was that millions of citizens found a way to give up the offer, UCD, and make the "acrobatic somersault" to the other, PSOE. If it was done then, why not now?

[Question] In other words, your target is the undecided, migrating vote.

[Answer] In Spain, because the memberships are small, the loyal votes are few; there is a high percentage of shifting, of electoral migration. This has also been observed in the autonomous elections in Catalonia, where nearly half the voters changed the direction of their vote. I am not boasting by saying "we



are going to win," "we are going to sweep"; nor do I soothe my spirit listening only to my fellow party members, no. First, we must deploy the antennas; second, we must perceive the feelings on the street; third, we must accept their positions and demands; fourth, we must argue why it would be bad for the nation if PSOE were to win again; and, fifth, we must offer guarantees in order to gain confidence. Elections are not won like a competitive examination in a notary's office; rather, with a far more subtle popular examination: contact-guarantees-confidence. If we in CP do that, we shall win.

#### 'PDP Is the Major Center Party'

[Question] PDP is serving as the "unshameful door" through which many former UCD members enter the coalition. Ultimately, you may have achieved the great invention of reviving UCD, but without Suarez....

[Answer] I shall not hide the fact that there are many UCD people in our party, and strong political figures. For example, from memory, there are over a dozen former Centrist ministers, a little over 70 members of Parliament who were representing UCD; a very large number of former high-ranking administrative officials from the previous democratic governments...Yes, PDP is now, potentially, the major center party in this country. But, with regard to your question, we are very careful not to make mistakes already suffered and well known. We are inoculated and on guard against opportunists and "clever" tactics.

[Question] I don't know whether that proselytism among "VIPs" will bring you votes, but it does give you a good "staff" for serving Fraga a good government. Is that the goal?

[Answer] In any event, it would be a logical goal. A party that does not aspire to being a government party is not a serious party.

[Question] Of course...but the fact is that, day by day, PDP has to go arm in arm with AP, in a coalition, or in a marriage of convenience. And that, of itself alone, entails admitting that, alone, your force would be insufficient. Or is that not so?

[Answer] Obviously, the key to a coalition, when an electoral system such as ours prevails, lies in the fact that, before the voting, two plus two makes four; and after the voting, it makes five or six or seven. And the attempt to combine different electorates is legitimate.

#### 'I Shall Not Air Internal Problems'

[Question] Legitimate, as usual. The bad part about marriages of convenience is reaching agreement. An understanding between Fraga, Segurado and you, Alzaga, is difficult, extremely difficult, when it is time to establish a common program, a joint strategy, a distribution of seats, isn't it? Because every rumor circulates!

[Answer] That, the fact that rumors circulate, is the worst thing. I can assure you that PSOE's internal consensus, with so much contradiction to bear, is far more troubled than that of CP. But they achieve it by hermetically stifling the outside echoes of the internal debate. So, I shall not air our internal problems. We are drafting a joint, summarized program, which we can all sign, as a serious, durable commitment, not as an arrangement based upon circumstances.

[Question] We shall read it with interest. I have noticed that there are fewer "squabbles" and more cohesion among you since the Socialist leaders jolted you with a "beating" of insults. The PSOE people are a little nervous, don't you think? Even Txiki Benegas, as good and sweet as "Saint Louis," is becoming vitriolic. What is going on?

[Answer] Hmmm! That kind of "street fighting" will have to stop. Calmness must be restored. We must discard the scrapping Spaniard, and accept the coexisting Spaniard that we carry within us: the one who made possible a Toledo with harmony among Jews, Moors and Christians; the one who managed to coexist in the Americas; the one who made our admirable democratic transition. I appeal for that good sense. Besides...personal attacks in politics are despicable acts which harm the one attacked, discredit the attacker and debase the political atmosphere of coexistence inspired by the mutual respect of the contenders.

[Question] Contenders, a nice little word. Do you reject the distinction made by Schmitt between adversary and enemy, "hostis" [enemy] and "inimicus" [unfriendly]?

[Answer] That distinction lay at the root of National Socialist totalitarianism; but, in democracy, there can be no enemies, but only adversaries. It is strange, and dangerous, that, from that time to this, some have forgotten that and are beginning to treat those who do not think as they do as "enemies."

[Question] Does that apply to PSOE?

[Answer] Yes, but all that one need do is forget one, and he ends up forgetting all of them. The differences have to be conveyed, without offense, much less destruction of the adversary and what the latter represents; because both the one and the other represent a part of the system as well. Under democracy, respect for pluralism is basic, and the first one obligated is the one who has the expedients of power in his hands.

'PSOE Is Injecting the Virus of Conformity'

[Question] Well, that "first one obligated," namely, Don Felipe Gonzalez, recently, and before the foreign press, discredited the whole opposition with one fell swoop, claiming that "it is a disaster." That was rude, don't you think?

[Answer] That was a major, repeated, inexplicable mistake; because it is as destabilizing for the opposition to say that there is no government worthy of the name as for the head of the government to discredit the opposition en masse. And the fact is that, without these two groups, no democratic system can exist. Were you asking me whether they were nervous? I'm afraid that PSOE is bent on conveying as a key notion the message that what the government does is not only good, but also the only thing possible. And it clinches this odd theory of "the inevitable" by adding that there is neither any other alternative policy nor any other politicians capable of materializing it properly. That kind of talk, which PSOE reiterates, is not only incompatible with a pluralistic democratic system but, in addition, and would that this were the most serious aspect!, it injects the social virus of conformity, following our Andalusian-Muslim tradition of "everything is written." And we thereby embark upon the easy lapse into collective pessimism, when we should be spurred on in the search for solution

[Question] For you, no; but for Fraga, losing again in 1986 would mean missing the train forever. However, which is worse, for Popular Coalition to lose again or for PSOE to win again? There is a shade of difference....

[Answer] I grasp the shade. It is worse for PSOE to win again; and not because, in theory, the democratic system would collapse if the Socialists govern again. But there is actually a tremendous reason for alarm: their excessive concentration of power which reminds one more of the Mexican PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party], or the Congress Party of India, than of a modern European social democracy.

[Question] Would it be important to you to open that powder-keg of "concentrated power"?

[Answer] It would be a very long list; but we have some rather visible examples: the determination to hold improper portions of the career civil service; the limits imposed on the Judicial Branch's independence; the control of private educational centers; the partisan politicization of the universities; the use of the state news media as the private property of the party in the government... these are dismal things which prompt reflection on what the holding of more and more areas of social power might turn out to be in the state and for PSOE, in another 4 years of a term in office. That is the "national danger" if they win again. And we have already suffered the experience of their hegemony: Parliament has ceased to be a chamber for control, and has become an organ to endorse decisions made elsewhere in the government. This risk becomes more serious in a country such as ours, where the civic culture of Francoism still carries a great deal of weight. If not, how would the fact that so many Socialist leaders are behaving like nouveaux riches be tolerated?

'The Socialists Have No Political Plan'

[Question] But the fact is that this is tolerated; furthermore, they are praised for it. And many Spaniards feel comforted by a government which "gives orders."

[Answer] Everything doesn't consist of telling the people: "we know how to give orders, and we give orders." The great weakness of PSOE is that I has no political plan.

[Question] You don't say!

[Answer] I do say. They have exhausted the goals which they inherited, which were in progress under the previous Centrist governments: for example, the Common Market, NATO, Israel.... And since then, the Socialist government has appeared to us as being incapable of devising a concrete, inspiring target period, a great national plan that the people would approve, giving it their vote for another 4 years. This is disturbing: PSOE knows how to execute, but it doesn't know how to plan. They are talking now about "modernization." I would adopt that cause; but that entails facing the challenge of what is new. When "modernization" is offered, a series of unknown quantities must be resolved for the country: the new industrial model, the competitive sectors in the Common Market, the revamping of the universities in which our youth are being trained for that stiff competition in science and technology... And so on. If not, "modernization" is nothing more than a shell, an empty word.

[Question] I shall now query the theoretician, the professor of political law. What significance does it hold for a Socialist Party that its head, Gonzalez, on a trip to the Far East, should bury Marx and liquidate Marxism as old merchandise?

[Answer] Scrapping Marxism seems fine to me, I hail it. It is rather inoperative baggage in these times and with our problems. The major question lies in whether they are moving at maximum speed from Marxism to opportunism....

[Question] To the ideology of non-ideology?

[Answer] Exactly. I don't believe in the death of ideologies; they are the driving force. A party without a consistent ideology, even if it is that nonsense of social democracy, is a hyperrealistic party marked by unpredictable behavior. And that, which may now soothe certain sectors of the economic and political right, might in the future give a shock, insofar as PSOE is concerned, due to circumstantial opportunism, and take an "x" step in a different, unanticipated direction. PSOE has given up the ideological debate, and that cannot be maintained for long, unless they now attempt to construct another "national movement," in which everything fits, as in a hodgepodge.

Since Alzaga speaks interspersing his remarks with long intervals of silence, "pauses with fermata," as a musician would call them, when he reached this "period-and new paragraph," I thought he had finished his comments. But he started up again, and with a look of someone setting out to shoot a blowgun filled with fire at a target of ice.

[Answer] It must be agreed that, in a European democracy, the Socialist ingredient is necessary, just as a rightwing exists. It doesn't make sense to conceive



of a democracy without either of those two opposing forces. And I say this because there are in the rightwing some who, with very good intentions, have the abolishment of PSOE as virtually their only ideal. It is one thing that we must defeat them in the elections, but getting off the track, pursuing an impossible model of democracy: non-pluralistic and without a left, is something else.

[Question] While I am with you, I don't know whether I am facing an intellectual involved in politics or a politician who, because he is an intellectual, covers himself with the protective garb of theory without "diving" into the complicated river of politics....

[Answer] Man, I think that I have dived in up to my eyebrows! I have contracted a serious, tangible, political commitment. The dichotomy between the man of action and the man of reflection is spurious. For a politician it is just as necessary to have good sense, opportunity and firmness in acting as it is to have depth and profusion in thinking. In Spain, our political class suffers (it is an epidemic!) from the malady of superficiality in ideas and poverty in concepts....and that is alarming, because the national problems require better prescriptions than those of a witch-doctor.

[Question] All that is very fine but what do you want me to tell you? I don't know whether it is because you accompany Fraga, who is just a hyper-active person in a state of upheaval, but the image that you convey, Mr Alzaga, is that of a "politician-in vitro," a gray eminence behind a barrier of papers and large books.

'I Am Not a Charismatic Leader'

[Answer] That unfortunate image is the one that others, as far as I know, are concerned with fabricating for me. I am not a charismatic leader, nor do I enjoy crowded beaches, nor do I believe very much in the mouth-to-mouth meeting. But, believe me, I "dive in among people" out of the party's needs, without stopping. (He opens his memorandum book and reads at random.) "Weekend, 28-29, Cercedilla-Sevilla-Cuenca-Toledo." That's not bad, is it? We have managed to create, and without outside money, without sponsors or patrons!, a party with 3,000 or 4,000 members and 160 open headquarters. With the attainment of the first phase, a "party of cadres," we are heading toward the second, "popular party"; building from top to bottom, without attaching the "invention" to a leader, but rather to a "team."

That is Oscar Alzaga's clever key: that "certificate of duration" of his party: no one is necessary.

[Question] Insofar as I know, you have been offered five ministry portfolios, which you have not accepted...why? Don't you like governing?

[Answer] Yes. With Adolfo Suarez, I could have been minister of education and of territorial administration; and with Calvo Sotelo, minister of public works,



justice and culture. Each time, there was a different reason for saying "no." When in doubt, good judgment advises one not to take on certain types of contention. With the passage of time, I can tell you that, under the same circumstances, I would say "no" again. But that doesn't mean that it is my ambition in politics to work on the opposition to achieve a government and, when the time comes, say that "I don't want to govern." That would mean needing psychoanalysis!

[Question] So, with Suarez, no; with Calvo Sotelo, also no; but with Fraga, yes....

[Answer] The problem was not one of being a Suarez minister or a Calvo Sotelo minister. I would accept a portfolio with Fraga or with any other head of the government, provided I could do what I thought had to be done; without creating differences and without entering the government merely to save a precarious balance of votes in Parliament. Furthermore, I view myself, without disgust, as a minister in a cabinet headed by another politician, even from PDP, who is less endowed or less brilliant than I. That is almost the "calling" of European Christian Democrats when forming government coalitions. For example, you have Andreotti, under orders from Craxi, and Tindemans, under orders from Martens.

'Neither Allergy Nor Fear of Power'

[Question] Then isn't it true that, when it is time to see the bull's horns close by, you fear power?

[Answer] I do not fear power, nor do I have an allergy with regard to it. Power is a means, not an end, necessary for "being able to do" what one deems feasible for the people. To improve the society, we need to dispose of that extremely tiresome newspaper called BOE [Official State Gazette]. But, just as I have no allergy to "getting wet" by governing, I don't succumb to the erotic desire for power either. You see, Pilar, there are politicians who strive for power-for-power's-sake, and they accept whatever it is, so long as they are promoted. Hence, unfailingly one reaches two points: acting with little ethics, and showing one's behind from a rather high branch...by means of "climbing."

[Question] Nevertheless, those who know you say about you, "Oscar, either Caesar or nothing; he is an ambitious person who knows how to wait."

[Answer] Those who really know me scold me for the opposite: my lack of ambition. As for "Caesar or nothing," I would tell you one thing: There are more than enough candidates for head of government here. I don't intend to create the problem of throwing another candidacy on the table: my own; at least before....

[Question] I grasp the shade of difference.

2909

CSO: 3548/12

POLITICAL

SPAIN

#### CESID REORGANIZED TO INCLUDE MORE CIVILIANS

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 7 Oct 85 pp 46-47

[Article by Miguel Angel Liso and Jose Diaz Herrera]

[Text] Over 100 Spanish business firms in the public and private sectors have reached agreements with the Higher Center for Defense Information (CESID) to protect the technological information on which they are working. In these firms, most of which are devoted to the manufacture of electronic components for civilian and military use, high security restricted areas are being created to which most of the company's workers are denied access. At the same time, board members of these firms voluntarily subject themselves to checking by the secret services, although this entails a limitation on their individual rights. Refusal to submit to this surveillance could prevent them from having access to information of a confidential nature.

To carry out this activity, which was stepped up after Spain's entry into COCOM [East-West Trade Coordination Committee], an organization which regulates exports of Western technology to the Eastern countries, and the signing of an agreement for cooperation between the Telephone Company and the American multinational AT&T, CESID has created a division to prevent industrial espionage. An official from the intelligence services told CAMBIO 16: "There are no friendly countries in the area of industrial espionage. We try to prevent any foreign power, whether it is an ally or not, from gaining access to the technological innovations developed in Spain."

The creation of this division, called economy and technology, is one of the most prominent innovations of CESID's new internal restructuring, and CAMBIO 16 has had access to its internal documentation.

Nevertheless, this is not the only change. During recent months, CESID has undertaken a total internal restructuring, creating five more divisions which are responsible for foreign intelligence, counter-intelligence, internal intelligence, administration and services, and personnel.

According to sources in the Ministry of Defense, all these changes represent a strong reinforcement of CESID, which has been set up as the leading state service in the area of espionage and counterespionage, with extensive authority in these areas, and with complete supremacy over the intelligence services, the Civil Guard and the Armed Forces.

The same sources claim that the current renovation is the most extensive carried out since January 1984, the date on which, based on a royal decree, CESID became the intelligence organ of the head of the government, to defend the interests of the state, although it continued to be subordinate to the defense minister in the area of military policy and national defense. Owing to this dual subordination, only two persons have direct access to the work being done by CESID: Felipe Gonzalez and Narciso Serra. The other authorities, whether they be civilian or military, require permission from the prime minister or the defense minister to obtain information about it, except for the king, Don Juan Carlos, who, because of his role as moderator of the democratic institutions, is excluded from this regulation.

CESID which, until 1981, was a definitely military intelligence service, has also carried out a major internal restructuring, bringing in civilians, who are recruited in the universities. After the coup d'etat of 23-F, Gen Emilio Alonso Manglano, of a liberal nature, took over the service, attempting to gear this intelligence service to the needs of the democratic system. This new style forced a sector of military assigned to CESID, of extremist ideology, to request their resignation, and many of these vacancies started to be filled with civilian personnel. At the present time, according to CESID sources, 30 percent of the staff is comprised of lawyers, economists, architects, sociologists, physicians, etc., who have not received military training.

According to the document of the new organizational chart, one of the divisions that has been most reinforced is the Foreign Intelligence Division, whose goal is "to procure, evaluate and disseminate the information obtained outside of Spain, for the purpose of averting a threat or an attack against Spain." For this purpose, that division is expending all its efforts on setting up CESID "stations" in foreign countries, in order to obtain economic, political and military information on matters affecting Spain.

The deployment abroad is being made essentially in the Arab countries, North Africa, Europe and America, and CESID's "antennas" are operating in cooperation with our embassies abroad; although an attempt has been made, for the safety of many spies, not to allow them to have any connection with the diplomatic missions.

Another division that has been reinforced is that of internal intelligence, with two essential branches: involution and revolution; engaged in the surveillance of coup-associated groups and revolutionary parties intending to make assaults upon democracy.

Spain's entry into NATO and the recurrence of the "cold war" between the two blocs have prompted CESID to expand its Counterintelligence Division, the purpose of which is to discover, neutralize and provide false information to the spy networks of foreign countries.

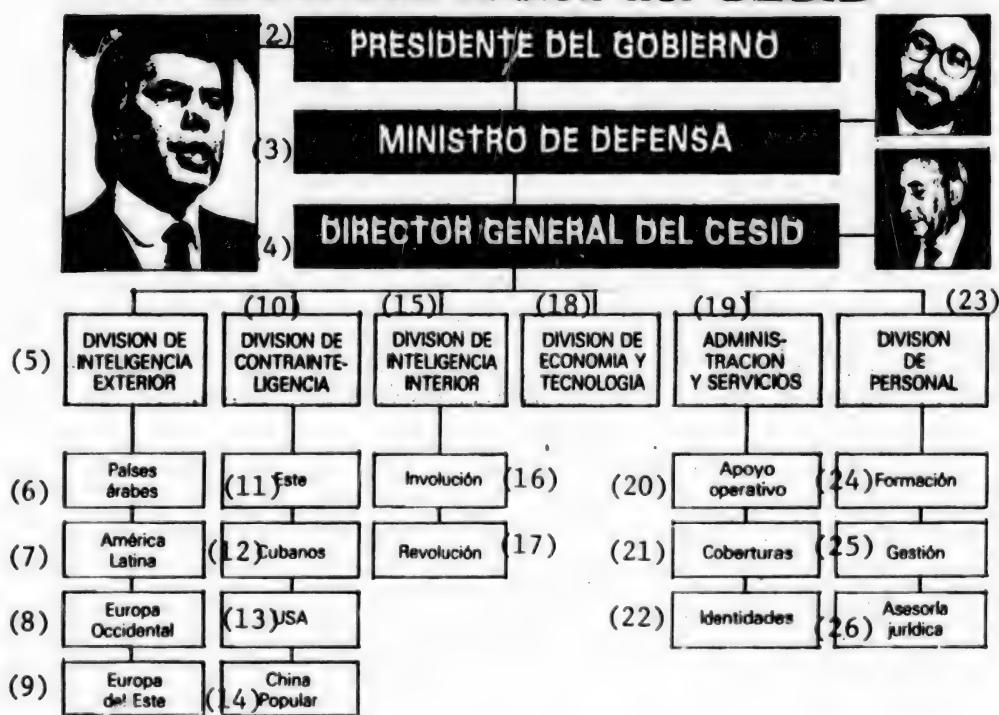
Another new mission of CESID is, on the other hand, to protect all the secret information that NATO provides to Spain, which is kept in very well protected installations of the Defense Ministry.

The renovation and expansion of functions and personnel have forced CESID to seek a new building, since the facilities that it has at number 5 Paseo de la Castellana are too small. At the present time, a new building is under construction at kilometer 8,800 of the La Coruna highway, which will house all the central services of this intelligence center.

In these new facilities, CESID will train its cadres, from the auxiliary agent to the intelligence officer or board member, responsible for planning, directing and coordinating the work to acquire and evaluate information. CESID sources claim that the center's officials are selected from the "creme de la creme" of all government departments, systematically rejecting individuals who offer to work in the service voluntarily.

According to sources from this intelligence service, only two types of professionals are not hired to increase CESID's staff: priests and journalists; although it is admitted that, on some occasions, the latter cooperate with the institution, "but without receiving any pay."

### (1) Estructura básica del CESID



48/CAMBIOT6

Key to Diagram:

1. Basic Structure of CESID
2. Prime minister of the government
3. Minister of defense
4. General director of CESID
5. Foreign Intelligence Division
6. Arab countries
7. Latin America
8. Western Europe
9. Eastern Europe
10. Counterintelligence Division
11. East
12. Cubans
13. U.S.A.
14. People's Republic of China
15. Internal Intelligence Division
16. Involution
17. Revolution
18. Economy and Technology Division
19. Administration and Services
20. Operational backup
21. Covers
22. Identities
23. Personnel Division
24. Training
25. Management
26. Legal consultant's office

2909

CSO: 3548/12



POLITICAL

SWEDEN

# CENTER PARTY FACES LACK OF PLATFORM AFTER ELECTIONS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 29 Nov 85 p 9

[Article by correspondent Arve Hoff: "Center Party Seeking a Policy"]

[Text] Stockholm, 28 Nov--This weekend the Swedish Center Party celebrates its 75th anniversary. It is unlikely to be a purely festive occasion. "Deep crisis" is an apt description of the condition of the party following the parliamentary election in September.

The crisis was apparent in a crude debate on former Prime Minister Thorbjorn Falldin's leadership that was at times conducted in full view of the public. It was pointed out by many people that under Falldin's leadership the party has gone from one election defeat to another and that Falldin has to take the blame for this. His day is over.

But far more important than the personal issue is the fact that the Center is a party that is falling apart in the sense that it is far from having a clear profile. What does the party really stand for? What are its key issues? The Center Party was called a party in search of a policy this fall and this description hits the mark.

## Green Wave

The party's problems on that score are not new but they have increased steadily in recent years. Part of the explanation lies in what happened to the "green wave." When this wave became a real factor in the early 1970's the Center Party was its political driving force, reaping increased voter support due to the popularity of environmental issues. The green wave was particularly effective in giving the party a foothold in urban areas. But today environmental issues do not have the same kind of impact and the Center Party is no longer alone in the environmental arena. It has lost its platform.

## Contradiction

This has not prevented a faction of the party from feeling that the salvation of the Center Party lies in a renewed and reinforced emphasis on environmental protection. But here one encounters an example of a deeper problem--a contradiction that illustrates in a nutshell the fact that the party seems to be groping along and is in constant danger of falling between two stools.

The problem lies in environmental considerations on the one hand and economic profitability in the agricultural sector on the other. The use of chemicals in agriculture is an increasingly prominent element in the Swedish environmental debate. And how is the Center Party, as an environmental party, to deal with the problem of these chemicals without coming in conflict with the group from which the party originally sprang, namely the farmers?

The same conflict--though not as simple in form or as acute--becomes apparent when other elements in the party advocate winning back voters among salaried employees and city dwellers after the Center Party was almost wiped out in the cities in the fall election. Any costly "overtures" in that direction contain within them the seeds of internal party conflict. For although it is many years since the party changed its name from the Farmers' Union to the Center Party, farmers still make up the hard core of the party and farmers in Sweden today complain as much about economic problems as other people do. They may have a stronger need than they have had for a long time for a political party that represents their own interests.

## Social Democrats

Behind the scenes there is probably also a lot of disagreement over where the party should be placed on the right-left spectrum of the political scene. The idea of cooperating with the Social Democrats instead of with the Conservatives and the Liberals does not seem to be unattractive to everyone in the party rank and file.

On this point at least Thorbjorn Falldin appears to stand as a guarantee of the party's course. As long as he is at the helm the party is unlikely to abandon the nonsocialist line.

But aside from that Falldin has been keeping as low a profile as possible for a political leader since the election in September. It is true that he has expressed a wish to continue as party chairman but otherwise he has remained silent in all debates on the future course of the Center Party.

"The entire party organization is involved in a postelection analysis. If I step out and take the lead in the debate there is a danger that many people will feel bound by personal considerations. I feel it is very important to have a discussion at the grassroots level," he said at a press conference several weeks ago.

## Hibernation

That is certainly an admirable standpoint. But many people find it strange that the party's undisputed leader and figure head for many years has gone into hibernation in a manner of speaking in this critical period for the party. Unless this means that Falldin is already prepared in reality to step down, whether he wants to or not.

A few figures show how drastic the Center Party's decline has been. In the 1973 parliamentary election the party received 25.1 percent of the votes. In this year's election it was down to 12.5 percent--including around 2.5 percent cast for the party's technical election partner, the Christian Democratic Party. And in an opinion poll a month ago the Center Party had a rating of only 6.5 percent.

6578

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POLITICAL

TURKEY

# MINISTER'S REMARKS ON 'SYRIAN THREAT' DISPUTED IN ANKARA

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 13 Nov 85 p 13

[Report by Sedat Ergin]

[Text] Ankara--National Defense Minister Zeki Yavuzturk's remarks regarding the arming of Syria before the National Assembly's Budget Planning Commission two days ago, gave rise to broad repercussions among diplomatic circles in Ankara yesterday. With reference to Yavuzturk's remarks that "declaring Syria a threat to NATO depends on the work of the Foreign Ministry," the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated yesterday that "the evaluation of a threat" is not the ministry's job and that "such an evaluation can be made by the pertinent authorities."

Responding to the questions of commission members, Yavuzturk had said in a veiled warning to Syria that that country is arming "beyond its capabilities" and that the Turkish Armed Forces are very sensitive on this issue. The part that was found "interesting" in Yavuzturk's remarks was that he spoke about the possibility that this Middle Eastern country "may be declared a threat to NATO."

Yavuzturk's remarks about such a possibility created an interesting situation with respect to the NATO doctrine and Turkey's Middle East policy and caused the following repercussions:

1) The Foreign Ministry made no comment on Yavuzturk's remarks on Syria. However, in response to the Defense Minister's statement that "the evaluation of a threat can be made by the Foreign Ministry," the ministry implied using a diplomatic phrase that this is not their job. In response to a question from us, a senior Foreign Ministry official said: "If there is a threat against Turkey, the evaluation of such a threat can be made by the pertinent authorities." It is believed that by the term "pertinent authorities" the Foreign Ministry meant the Chairmanship of the General Staff and the Ministry of Defense.

## General Staff's View

2) An official of the Chairmanship of the General Staff said on this issue: "Activities in Syria are being monitored just as military activities are monitored in all other countries." The military official added: "This is a routine task performed all the time by the Turkish Armed Forces."

3) It was learned that after Yavuzturk's remarks were reported in the press the Syrian embassy contacted the Defense Ministry and requested the full text of his statement. Syrian Charge d'Affaires Tawfiq Salloum said: "I can express a view only after reading the full text of the minister's statement." He declined further comment at this stage.

4) Former Minister of Defense Hasan Esat Isik said: "While we may not like militarization it is not hard to understand the desire to arm by a country in Syria's position and with Syria's problems." Isik noted that "Israel, too, is arming beyond its capabilities and on a much greater scale." Stating that Turkey has to watch the arming of Syria like that of any other country, Isik added: "However, I have not seen any indication that Syria is arming itself against Turkey."

#### NATO Doctrine Contradicted

5) Yavuzturk's remarks to the effect that Syria may be declared a "threat" to NATO, was found "debatable" from a perspective of NATO doctrine even though it was mentioned only as a possibility. Noting that NATO, in its doctrine, is a defense organization formed against the Warsaw Pact, experts said that it is not unusual for NATO to make a threat evaluation with respect to Syria, but added that declaring Syria as a "threatening country" is impossible theoretically and practically in view of the NATO doctrine.

#### NATO Drawn into Middle East?

6) Yavuzturk's remarks have created "drawbacks" for the policies pursued by Turkish diplomacy which has been working to prevent wrong interpretations of Turkey's NATO membership among Middle Eastern countries and which has been particularly insistent on not taking any part in the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force plans. Commenting on this issue, Hasan Esat Isik said: "Turkey must avoid creating the impression that it is drawing NATO into the problems of the Middle East."

#### Syria's Response

7) Yavuzturk's remarks came at a time of noticeable relaxation in Turkish-Syrian relations which have remained considerably cool in recent years. It had recently been announced that both Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu's meeting with his Syrian counterpart at the United Nations last September and Minister of State Mustafa Tinnaz Titiz's recent visit to Syria went on smoothly and that Syria has adopted a more careful approach toward Turkey including its stance on terrorist activities. For the moment it is not known how Yavuzturk's remarks and its timing will be interpreted by the Ba'ath regime in Damascus.

#### Is Turkey Targeted?

In the past Syrian leaders reassured Ankara that their arming activities are not aimed at Turkey but directly against Israel. About 3 years ago, then Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen announced that he was notified by Syrian authorities that Syria's Soviet-made SAM missiles are not aimed at Turkey.



POLITICAL

TURKEY

MILITARY SUPREME COURT TO HEAR PEACE ASSOCIATION CASE

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 28 Nov 85 pp 1,11

[Text] Ankara--Today the Departments Council of the Military Supreme Court of Appeals will review the Peace Association trial which has been going on for 5 years including the interrogation of the defendants. It has been learned that the court's deliberations will end tomorrow the latest. The verdict handed down by the "Departments Council" will be final and cannot be appealed. The Departments Council of the Military Supreme Court of Appeals consists of two members from each department and the heads of each department. The hearing will be chaired by the Chief Justice of the Military Supreme Court, Maj Gen Hikmet Tavukcuoglu. A report prepared by the general council reporter, Justice Col Ilhan Senel, will be discussed at the hearing. Senel is also a member of the 2nd Department. Senel's report is an account of developments since the trial began but contains no views of Senel's own.

Most recently in the trial of the Peace Association leaders, the 2nd Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Command maintained its original verdict and freed defendants Orhan Apaydin, Niyazi Dalyanci, Ismail Hakki Ozturun, Melih Tumer, Dogan Gorsev and Mahmut Dikerdem, who had all been sentenced to 5 years in prison. By maintaining its original verdict, the 2nd Military Court refused to comply with the ruling of the Third Department of the Military Supreme Court of Appeals which had struck down the 2nd Military Court's decision. Defendants who are still under detention are:

Reha Isvan, Erdal Atabek, Aykut Goker, Tahsin Usluoglu, Haluk Tosun, Sefik Asan, Aybars Ungan, Ali Taygun, Metin Ozek, Ataol Behramoglu (overseas), Ali Sirmen, Gencay Saylan, Ergun Elgin, Orhan Taylan.

The Departments Council will examine the Third Department's reversal ruling and the decisions of the court which did not comply with the reversal decision and will seek why the original court did not comply with the higher court's verdict. In accordance with the rules, members of the Third Department which handed down the reversal ruling are not participating in this hearing.

If the Departments Council upholds the ruling of the Third Department and reverses the 2nd Military Court's decision to stand on its own ruling on grounds of "deficient interrogation," the case may be retried in the original court. In the meantime, defendants under detention may be released.

POLITICAL

TURKEY

## TWO DSP FOUNDERS RESIGN; SHP OFFICIAL CALLS DSP 'UNNECESSARY'

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 28 Nov 85 p 13

[Text] Two founding members of the Democratic Left Party [DSP] have resigned charging that the party has been founded by "one person" rather than the "grassroots." While Mehmet Yolcu, a barber from Esme, and Suleyman Hus, a pastry maker--both DSP founding members from Usak--reportedly sent their letters of resignation to the DSP general headquarters, officials and founding members at the party headquarters left questions on this issue unanswered and said: "We know nothing." Meanwhile, in a statement on the resignation of DSP founders from Esme, Social Democratic Populist Party [SHP] District President Nihat Gunduz said: "The left's most sincere wish is to see all social democrats united under a single roof."

DSP founder Suleyman Hus' letter of resignation sent to the party general headquarters reads as follows:

"I am a founding member of the DSP. I entered the DSP because I was led to believe that the party was being established by the grassroots. However, subsequent developments have shown that the party has been established by one person and not the grassroots. I have found out that the establishment of the party by the grassroots is a deception. For this reason I am resigning from the party as a founding member."

In his letter of resignation, Mehmet Yolcu expresses his disapproval of DSP's opposition to the union of social democrats and says:

"I joined the work to found the DSP because of my respect for Ecevit. I was highly effective in the organization of the party in Esme. I learned from the press that as a result of my work I was elected as a founding member. In the course of my work I observed that the people want unity more than a new party. Given these facts, I request that my resignation be accepted."

SHP District President Nihat Gunduz said that the resignation of two founding members proves that the establishment of DSP was unnecessary and called on all social democrats to support unity. DSP officials, on the other hand, made no comment on the resignations.

POLITICAL

TURKEY

#### SHP LEADERS VISIT PEACE ASSOCIATION DEFENDANTS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 28 Nov 85 pp 1,11

[Text] Social Democratic Populist Party [SHP] leader Aydin Guven Gurkan who visited the Peace Association defendants at the Bayrampasa Prison together with Erdal Inonu said in a statement after the 1-hour visit: "Some of the Peace Association defendants are my colleagues, some of them are my friends and some are people I know and sympathize with for their work. We conveyed to them our sincere wishes for their welfare and acquittal."

Gurkan said: "As a result of a narrow-minded and unclear piece of legislation which seeks and finds criminality in thought, people in Turkey are occasionally charged with crimes. We hope for the speedy establishment and the perpetuation of a Turkey which has insured the security of its society and which is not afraid of thinkers, writers and painters."

Gurkan arrived at the Bayrampasa Prison at 10:00 am yesterday accompanied by a delegation comprised of Erdal Inonu, SHP Istanbul provincial leader Hasan Fehmi Gunes, former Populist Party Istanbul provincial leader Turgut Sarica, former Social Democracy Party Istanbul provincial leader Sadullah Usumi and SHP Executive Council members Rafet Tuzun and Fermani Altun. After a 1-hour meeting where reporters were not admitted, Gurkan and Inonu replied to journalists' questions. Gurkan said: "Some of the Peace Association defendants are my colleagues, some of them are my friends and some are people I know and sympathize with for their work. We conveyed to them our sincere wishes for their welfare and acquittal." When asked whether "the Peace Association defendants had any special requests from them," Gurkan replied: "No. We just had a very humane and friendly conversation and we expressed our wishes for their acquittal. They had no special requests." Gurkan then said: "Prison conditions are well-known. In order to improve these prison conditions it is first necessary to issue a broad-based amnesty." Gurkan continued:

"Any improvements in prisons under these conditions can only be superficial and temporary no matter what is done. Our impressions today do not apply to the Peace Association defendants alone. Our knowledge of social affairs indicates that prisons and penitentiaries must be evacuated as soon as possible by a general amnesty, and human living conditions must be created for those who remain in prison."

Stating that they "appreciate the efforts made to provide as human living conditions as possible for Peace Association defendants," Gurkan said: "I hope

that this humanist effort is made for every detainee and prison inmate. Then we would be proud of being a country which provides its people with human living conditions even if they are detainees or convicts."

Gurkan was asked: "Do you favor an amnesty within the framework of the Constitution or outside it?" Gurkan replied: "Naturally, within the framework of the Constitution." He then said with regard to amnesty:

"The Constitution cannot be changed, but in our opinion the pertinent clauses of the Constitution do not bar the pardon of crimes of thought and non-violent political crimes. This will be seen when we submit our amnesty bill to the Assembly. Even if the pertinent clauses of the Constitution remain in effect many people can be pardoned."

When asked "In conclusion did you find the Peace Association defendants to be living in good conditions?" Erdal Inonu replied:

"You asked about good conditions. Naturally, even under the best prison conditions it is better to be free. Let this not be misunderstood. The defendants spend their time writing, translating and painting. They write more than they read."

Relatives of political prisoners and detainees who had gathered before the prison having heard of Inonu's and Gurkan's visit, gave the two party leaders a petition carrying 170 signatures and asking them to visit their relatives at the 2nd Military Prison in Sagmalcilar. When told by detainee and convict relatives that conditions at the Sagmalcilar Prison are very bad and that they are very pleased with the visit paid to the Peace Association defendants, Inonu responded: "We will look into it." When asked whether they "know about the situation in [Sagmalcilar]," Gurkan said: "We know everything. We will look into it."

9588

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MILITARY

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

KINNOCK: STRENGTHEN NATO CONVENTIONAL FORCES, DROP SDI

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Siegfried Thielbeer: "Kinnock Calls for Strengthening Conventional NATO Forces--'Bilateral Nuclear Disarmament'/ a Talk with the Labor Leader"]

[Text] Duesseldorf, 22 Nov--"Almost nobody would dispute that ever since the discovery of the club there has been deterrence--and it has often worked. I am not against deterrence, I have never been a pacifist, but have always been only in favor of nuclear disarmament." Neil Kinnock, the 43-year-old leader of the British Labor Party, is taking advantage of his visit to the FRG in order to emphasize the professed loyalty of his party to the Western Alliance and to argue for a strengthening of the conventional forces--the navy, the air force, and the Army of the Rhine. He said that never before has a Labor Party conference declared its faith in NATO with such an impressive majority--namely, 7:1. "Our NATO obligations are unconditional." Under a Labor government as well, Great Britain would retain the central role that it plays in the Alliance. "We must make certain that our armed forces have the utmost effectiveness." Kinnock did not wish to commit himself to a certain number of frigates or submarines. There must be enough for the safeguarding of the North Atlantic. In any case, the modernization of the fleet and adequate training are at least as important as the number of ships, he said.

As for the strengthening of the Army of the Rhine, here again Kinnock-- who had just spoken with its commander, General Farndale, and as a Welshman himself had visited the Welsh Regiment at Lemgo--did not want to commit himself to numbers. A strengthening is again achieved through a greater effectiveness by way of better technology and through better equipping with ammunition supplies, he said. However, the Labor leader indicated that an analysis of the military tasks may definitely result in the conclusion that the number of soldiers in the Rhine Army must be raised also.

In contrast to some elements of German Social Democracy--Kinnock had just spoken with Lafontaine and had flown to London together with Rau--this political figure in the British opposition was cautious on the question of "alternative strategies." Thus, it is true that he argued that more consideration should be given to defensive technologies. Why should we not counter the expensive tank weapon system with a relatively cheap missile



and thus get "more bang for the buck"? Naturally, the structure of the Rhine Army must be examined within the framework of the NATO strategy. And this is happening on a continuing basis. But one cannot rely solely on mines and antitank rockets. It is never wise to put all one's eggs in one basket, he said.

Kinnock's arguments were similarly careful with respect to the air weapons. He said that it is true that he advocates not only procuring various bomber types in connection with aircraft, but also taking into account more the different versions of air defense. But he agrees here absolutely with the military, he said. Even if in the future many offensive tasks are fulfilled better by missiles, he recognizes that one needs fighter bombers for support on the battlefield.

Kinnock did not want to dismiss outright the contemplated plans of NATO's commander in chief in Europe, General Rogers, and his "Fofa" concept, even though he had doubts about some of the basic assumptions of this concept. Thus, he said, he considers it to be more important to be able first of all to repulse the first echelon of the aggressor. The speculating of Rogers--"and it is not yet anything more than a concept"--showed in any case that even the thinking of the military was further developing. He is in agreement on the effort to ensure the greatest military effect through utilization of modern technology, he said.

Kinnock was convinced that the abolition of all British nuclear weapons planned by the Labor Party and the withdrawal of such American weapons from Great Britain is entirely compatible with England's position in NATO. He referred to the parallel policy of Canada, Norway, Denmark, and now also Spain. From talks with NATO's commander in chief, General Rogers, and with British commanders he knows the mixed feelings with which the military has contemplated tactical nuclear weapons, he said. The threat of employing battlefield weapons is not very convincing. It is entirely unclear how the damage can be confined. In the hand-to-hand fighting situation on the battlefield, a differentiation between friend and foe will scarcely be possible. The weapons would be employed above all on our own territory--that is, Germany. How then does one intend confine their use? There is the danger of an undesired escalation, he said. Conventional weaknesses cannot be credibly offset by tactical nuclear weapons. Their use is always a political matter. How uneasy the military is can be seen by NATO'S resolutions about reductions. The main argument for the retention of a vestigial number of such weapons is really only that one must be able to conduct a counterstrike in order to restrain the opponent from their use, Kinnock said.

He said that in the case of Polaris, the argument against there being a separate British strategic nuclear power is the fact that this missile is obsolete. "You can see how ineffective and unreliable it has become by the fact that the conservative government wants to spend 11 billion pounds for the new Trident." However, even with the Trident no additional contribution to the Western deterrence potential is provided. So far, Great Britain has not even achieved an upgrading of its political role, a place at the negotiating table, he said.

But why then the unilateral path? Does not one-sided disarmament remove every incentive toward disarmament on the part of the other side? How can Labor answer for the weakening of the Western negotiational position in arms control talks? Kinnock pointed to the fact that disarmament too is an ongoing process. The weapons will not be removed all at once, but a start will be made in that direction, and this will be continued step by step. He is confident, he said, that Moscow will react positively. In talks with the Labor leadership, the Soviet leadership has committed itself to dismantling one Russian missile for each removed British rocket. The disarmament policy of the Labor Party is therefore not unilateral, but bilateral, he said.

If he and his party object to the offensive character of the nuclear deterrence, must not they find President Reagan's SDI attractive then? Kinnock's answer is coolly composed and seems to be fully based on expert experience, gained in his talks with the American administration, with scientists and military figures. He named five reasons for opposing SDI: "It will not work, therefore it convinces nobody; it has a destabilizing effect in the initial phase." America will be uncoupled from Europe by this; moreover, it jeopardizes the development of European technology and leads to a drain in its scientific capacity. We should not kid ourselves, he said. This is not the first weapon system about which its advocates have claimed that it made other weapons superfluous. But what developed was only another round of the arms race, he said.

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MILITARY

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

# NEW FAST MINE WARFARE BOATS INCORPORATE FALKLANDS EXPERIENCE

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Nov 85 pp 27-30

[Article by Juergen Rhades: "New Boats for Mine Countermeasures and Minehunting"]

[Text] Within the next 15 years the German Navy's mine countermeasure and mine laying capabilities will be greatly improved by the commissioning of new boats. The Class 343 mine warfare boat is in the construction stage; the Class 332 minehunter program is to follow on without interruption. This article highlights the present situation of the two programs and other mine countermeasure activities in the German Navy.

With the signing of the construction contract between the Federal Defense Materiel and Procurement Office and general contractor Messerschmidt-Boelkow-Blohm on 3 July 1985, Project Class 343 Minewarfare Boat entered a decisive phase. At the end of August, MBB and "Working Group SM 343", which was constituted especially for this purpose, signed a contract for shipyard work. The working group consists in equal parts of three medium-sized shipyards, Abeking & Rasmussen, Fr. Luerksen and Kroeger. However, in actual work Luerksen performs the biggest share (43 percent); Abeking & Rasmussen and Kroeger are splitting the difference equally.

Of the 10 boats to be built under the contract, four are to be built by Fr. Luerksen and three each by Abeking & Rasmussen and by Kroeger. The boats are outfitted in the shipyards until the shipyard sea trials; after that they proceed under their own power and navigation by sea to the final assembly yards. For seven of the boats, the latter are Fr. Luerksen and for three, A&R. Under the supervision of the general contractor, this is where the boats are finally equipped with weapon and fire control systems. Operational certification is to take place in the Baltic.

Module construction is being used for the first time in that type of project. Every boat is divided into 25 modules, and every shipyard builds ten units of each section--the learning effect thus obtained had been determined previously. The modules are then transported to the assembly yards concerned.

The keel laying of the prototype boat at the Luerksen yard is planned for June 1986, with launch in the fourth quarter of 1987. The remaining nine boats will, in the flippant words of the general contractor, be "turned out like sausages."

The first boat is to be commissioned in December 1988; the others will be delivered during the period ending in early 1991. They will serve as replacements for the 21 Class 340/41 fast mine sweepers which will be retired. The SM 343s will enter service with the 5th Minesweeper Squadron at the Olpenitz/Baltic base. A system support group will be established for them at that location. The crews for the new boats will come from the old SM boats at Olpenitz and Flensburg; the remaining personnel from the SM 340/341 will also crew the new minehunters.

The new mine warfare boats represent a considerable improvement over their predecessors:

- they are equipped with two 40 mm Bofors guns of a more combat efficient version--two guns provide all-around defense; the WM 20 fire control system from the meanwhile retired Class 142 speed boats will be used;
- air defense will be provided by the STINGER 2 infra-red-guided man-portable antiaircraft missile;
- minesweeping will be more precise as a result of a more modern navigation system;
- they will be equipped with the PALIS passive/active LINK system, which will enable the boats to operate in unison with other navy units since they will receive the data automatically.

The use of 40 mm guns is a measure for standardization with other seagoing units; it provides considerable advantages as to training, maintenance, spare part availability etc. Another highly important factor is the raised minelaying capability compared with the old fast minesweepers; minelaying could be the initial task at the start of an armed conflict.

The boats are constructed from non-magnetic, rustfree steel from the Boehler firm in Duesseldorf, the German subsidiary of the Austrian United High-Grade Steel Works. For furnishing the steel, Krupp and Boehler have formed a consortium which shares steel deliveries at a 60:40 percent ratio. Forgoing of the sheet metal, which will go all the way down to a 4 mm thickness, will start in January 1986. It should be noted that the boats are entirely constructed of steel--aluminum construction, which had probably been intended, was abandoned after the Falklands experiences. Aluminum is more combustible than steel.

All these improvements permit the conclusion that the new boats represent greater combat efficiency for mine warfare by the German Navy, for minesweeping as well as for minelaying.

Minesweeping tasks are additionally performed by the German Navy with the TROIKA system, specifically as simulated sweeping with the unmanned SEEHUND solenoid sweep. Minesweeping will remain an essential activity in the future also, especially in the operating areas of the German Navy, since minehunting is hampered considerably by such impacts as strong currents, sharply varying temperatures between water layers (making sonar contact more difficult), rubble-filled sea bottoms (which make clear identification of mines difficult); muddy bottoms, in which mines can disappear completely and can no longer be spotted by TV or sonar. All this can lead to minehunting being less effective than minesweeping--thus minesweeping will continue in the future also.

#### The Class 332 Minehunter

Improvements are to take place with the German Navy's minehunters also. Twelve minehunters are active at present: two Class 331A and ten of the very similar, but more modern 331B. In 1992 these boats are to be replaced by a total of 20 minehunters; current plans call for initially for 10 Class 332 minehunters to be built, to replace the two old boats (additional personnel to come from the old fast minesweepers to be deactivated in Flensburg). The 10 MIJ-331Bs will be replaced not earlier than the end of the 1990s by possibly another 10 boats of the same class, possibly with even more modern equipment.

The Class 332 minehunters are based on the standard platform adapted from the 343 mine warfare boats. The concept stage, performed by the Marinetechnik-Gesellschaft (MTG) in Hamburg, has been completed; at present the next stage document is being finalized. The subsequent definition stage will probably be announced within the next few weeks; it is assumed that the definition work for the SM 343 working group will be headed by a definition specialist. Perhaps the competition for the definition stage will be skipped and, with the general contractor (MBB) taking over direct from the SM 343 working group--however, mass production of the planned 10 boats will in any case again be subject to competitive bids.

Due to the difference in missions, the Class 332 boats will of course be somewhat different from the Class 343 ones. For instance, there will be a superstructure to store the drones and diving equipment. Since the boats will be deployed in the North Sea, installation of the RAM short-range missile defense system was omitted--cost factors were the deciding factor here. The assumption appears to be made that NATO will retain air superiority in the North Sea.

The Minehunters will have a so-called minehunting chain, consisting of the on-board minehunting sonar, the submersible drone, the mine clearance divers' gear and an improved fire control system. On the rear deck there will be a crane for the submersible drone, capable of launching and retrieving the drone without pendulum motion. This will provide an easier way of deploying the drone even in heavy seas.



The submersible drone to be introduced will probably be the PINGUIN B3, currently under development by MBB. This drone is capable of containing a TV camera as well as a short-range sonar (made by Krupp Atlas Elektronik) for exact determination of mine location. The presently used submersible drone is used by the 331 minehunters, the French-built PAP 104, accommodates either the TV or the sonar, but not both. The PINGUIN has greater operational flexibility; it can for instance be operated at any desired distance from the sea bottom. Guidance occurs via a cable with digital data transmission. The PINGUIN has two explosive charges, enabling it to destroy two mines in a single operation. Its endurance is greater and because of its greater speed the PINGUIN can operate in the presence of relatively strong currents.

In addition the minehunter is to be equipped with an auxiliary power plant, enabling it to conduct minehunting operations in the smallest area with a minimum of noise in slow-speed operations. The crew will number approximately 48. The instrumentation of the operations center has not yet been fully decided upon, but there are to be great improvements in the situation display.

Current plans call for construction of the 10 Class 332 boats to follow immediately upon that of the Class 343s--good news for the shipyards, since this will provide continuous operations; the same yards will no doubt build the 343s.

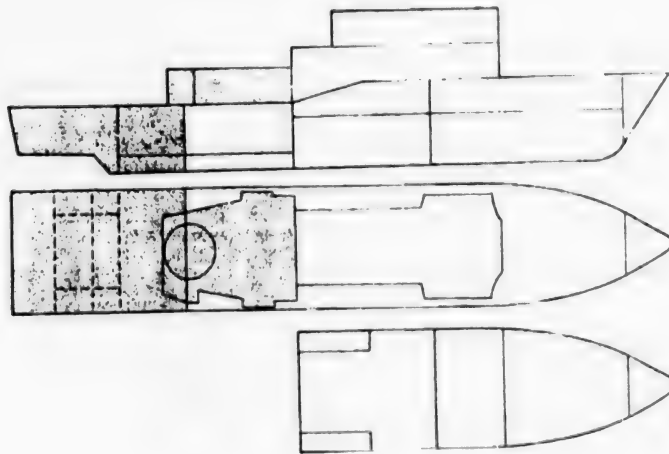
#### TROIKA Has Proven Its Value

The simulation minesweeping system TROIKA--the former LINDAU minesweeper reequipped as the HL351 solenoid sweep boat--is to be retained in service until about the end of the 1990s. Initial experience in operations to date have shown that this system works very well. Consideration for a replacement of whatever kind has been postponed. There are concepts for improving the old system, but no decision has been made as to whether or not simulated sweeping could be dispensed within years to come. This will be a deciding factor of how minehunting will evolve in the future--whether it will continue to be done with the solenoid sweep boat or with towed systems.

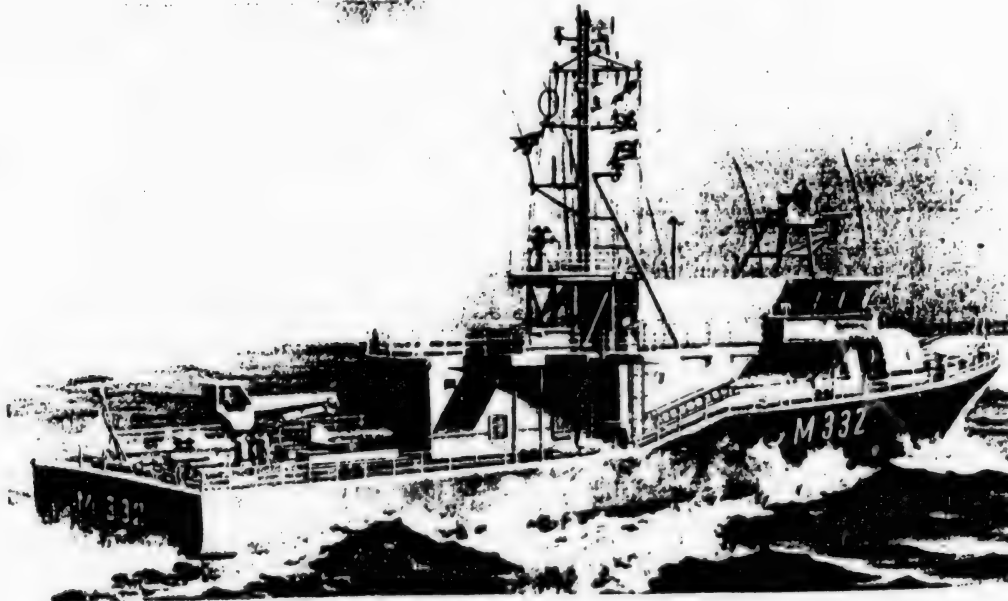
#### A Look Into the Future

Prospects for the navy in the new millenium are for it to have new mine warfare forces, whose boats, while smaller in number, will be more effective and will generally require smaller crews. The standardized platform for mine warfare boats and minehunters is considered to be most advantageous.

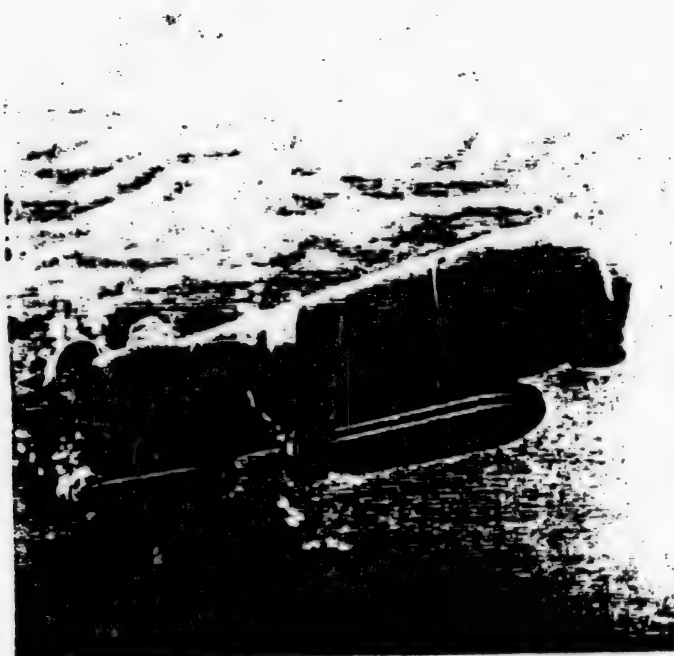
The race between enemy mine technology and friendly mine defense technology will continue unabated. It will endure and is like to keep generating imbalances. As a result, mine warfare forces will continue to be able to fulfill their mission only if even today the tactician as well as the operator, in this case the minehunter as well as the defense technologist, the engineer and the shipbuilder in industry, makes certain that technological progress in the minewarfare forces will be placed at the service of mines and mine countermeasures.



[p28] The drawing, by the SM 343 Working Group, demonstrates the division of labor among the shipyards, using as examples the hull (Abeking & Rasmussen), the superstructure (Luerssen) and the bow (Kroeger).



[p29] Design rendering of the present concept of the new Class 332 Minehunter, behind the mast and without RAM. (Drawing: MBB)



[p30] In a new configuration, the PIGUIN B-3 is equipped with a TV camera and a short-range sonar. By digital data transmission via cable, the drone can be remote controlled at any desired distance from the sea bottom.

[Chart, p 30]

	<u>Class 343 Fast Mine Warfare Boat SM-343</u>	<u>Class 332 Mine-hunter MIJ-332</u>
General Contractor	MBB, Bremen	Undecided
Shipyards	Work Gp SM-343: Abeking & Rasm. 3 Fr. Luerksen 4 Kroeger 3	Undecided
Planned Construction	10 boats	10 boats
Launch	1st boat: Fall 87	
Commissioning	12/88 to 04/91	After 1992
Displacement	590 t	about 600 t
Length	54 m	54 m
Width	9 m	9 m
Armament	Two 40 mm Fliegerfaust; mines	Fliegerfaust
Equipment	WM 20 Fire Control System; Mine-sweeping gear	Fire Control System; Minehunting Sonar; Submersible Drone; Mine clearance diver
Power Plant	2 Diesel engines MTU 16V 393 with 2x2 240 kW max performance; two variable pitch props	2 Diesel engines Slow movement engine 2 variable pitch propellers
Maximum Speed	About 18 knots	About 18 knots
Crew	37	About 48
9273/12951		
CSO: 3620/140		

MILITARY

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

## END OF SHORT-SERVICE VOLUNTEER CRUNCH SEEN BY 1986

Bonn HEER in German Aug 85 p 4

[Interview with Col Juergen Natter, chief of army personnel planning in the Ministry of Defense, by Ernst-J. Kuenne: "It Is Easier To Be Z3--Shortage of Billets for Short-Service Volunteers Will Be Passe as of 1986"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Among the troops, there is once more confusion with regard to transferring to short-service volunteer status. How do you see the situation?

[Answer] Within the army, one can become a short-service volunteer the entire year through, that is to say, also during the second half of the year. But the need is not always the same at all posts. Applicants south of the River Main have an easier chance since the northern region has less difficulty, just like it did last year, in covering its manpower needs. In other words, whoever is mobile and does not make proximity to his home town a disqualifying condition has an easier time becoming a short-service volunteer.

[Question] High school graduates (abiturienten) like to use the possibility of becoming a category 2 short-service volunteer in order to bridge the waiting time between high school graduation and the beginning of university studies. Can they still do so?

[Answer] As long as basic military service lasts 15 months, the person who is drafted on 1 October will always have a problem. Things are easier for those who elect to sign up for 2 years. That is why we have a tremendous rush of applicants in this area. Basically: the category 2 short-service volunteer needs a billet like any other short-service volunteer--in other words, he costs exactly as much. Since we are short of noncommissioned officers, we must make priority use of positions for men who are prepared to become noncommissioned officers and, where possible, are willing to sign up for longer periods of time.

We have a certain need for reserve officers and this involves the high school graduate types. Approximately 2,000 per age class can sign up for category 2 short-service volunteer duty, provided that they are suitable and able to accept training as a reserve officer candidate. And there are not any more openings.



[Question] In other words, does the priority lie with the potential noncommissioned officer who is prepared to serve a longer period of time?

[Answer] Quite clearly: We want to utilize the applicant situation and the possibilities inherent in the high employment numbers of next year in order to finally bring order to the noncommissioned officer situation. For years we have been in the process of gradually dismantling the category 2 short-service volunteer positions and of increasing still further the number of billets for category 3 short-service volunteers. That is the man we are seeking and whom we need!

Currently, we still have around 17,000 category 2 short-service volunteers in the army and we are in the process of dismantling another 10,000 positions and replacing them with category 3 positions. That means: He who is prepared to become a category 3 short-service volunteer has the primary chance of being accepted.

[Question] What is the source of the uncertainty among troops with respect to acceptance applications?

[Answer] There are surely several reasons: First, the military has determined that despite available billets it cannot accept applicants on an unlimited basis--quite simply because fewer funds than planned billets are available. But perhaps the most significant reason is the fact that outside of the military, in schools and enterprises, there are far more applicants than had been expected. Furthermore, more short-service volunteers, primarily noncommissioned officers, whose service time was to have terminated by 31 December 1984, have reenlisted.

Our requirements for 1985 were 20,000 new short-service volunteers. We were able to fulfill this goal in May. However, because we must have a continuing personnel replacement pool in order to be able to take on those who conclude their apprenticeships in July or August and who report for duty in October or in order to be able to take on those performing basic military service as short-service volunteers in the following months, we have divided these 20,000 positions throughout the year. As far as the troops are concerned, this has the effect of being a constant brake.

[Question] And how do things look for 1986?

[Answer] At that time, the army will have a new requirement for 30,000 men. We will be able to make more positions available because the legislature will allocate more funds to us. If uncertainty has arisen now it is not transferable to 1986.

[Question] How many of the 30,000 can become noncommissioned officers and how large is the shortage?

[Answer] Today, we still have 5,000 noncommissioned officer positions unencumbered. However, this figure is small when one considers that 2 years ago this shortage was still at the 17,000 level. To answer the first portion of

your question: In principle, everyone who enters military service next year, if he has the appropriate suitability and performance, coupled with the appropriate length of service obligation, can become a noncommissioned officer since every quarter some depart and we still have to staff 5,000 positions.

[Question] We have thus far spoken of the W-15 type person [a soldier who has performed 15 months of basic military service] who wishes to become a short-service volunteer. But how do things look for an applicant with no prior service?

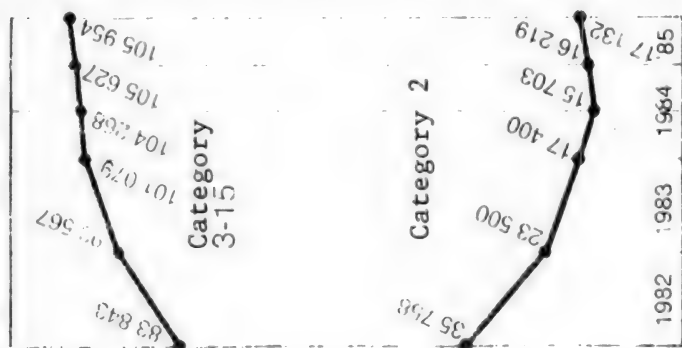
[Answer] There are basically two ways in which a person can become a short-service volunteer and no others. We take on W-15 types in the troop components as short-service volunteers, but we also get some people without prior military service through volunteer acceptance organizations. The numbers are roughly in balance with a slight advantage going to transfers from troop components.

[Question] What chances does the short-service volunteer have who merely wants to remain a private?

[Answer] If an absolute requirement for very definite specialists with highly qualified civilian professions--let us say, electronics maintenance--exists, then there are also possibilities for longer service as rank-and-file private. However, the rule is that those with longer service will become noncommissioned officers!

[Question] Could supply and demand lead to the elimination of the category 2 short-service volunteer?

[Answer] Even these days, perhaps precisely at this moment, soldiers are being accepted as category 2 short-service volunteers under very special conditions: If they have limited suitability for ROA [Reserve Officer Candidate] training, for certain bottleneck areas or as an entry level to the noncommissioned officer career where suitability has been recognized, because we expect those in this circle of individuals to subsequently reenlist. In other words, the category 2 short-service volunteer does exist and will continue to exist albeit at reduced volume.



Category 2 short-service volunteers are giving way to soldiers serving longer terms.

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CSO: 3620/123

MILITARY

FINLAND

#### AUSLAND ASSESSES COUNTRY'S DEFENSE CAPABILITY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Nov 85 p 2

[Article by John C. Ausland]

[Text] In downtown Helsinki there is a monument to the Finnish statesman J. K. Paasikivi. A quotation in both Finnish and Swedish that Paasikivi was extremely fond of is engraved in the foot of the monument. The quotation reads: "Recognition of reality is the beginning of all wisdom."

What Paasikivi was referring to, primarily, was Finland's relations with its big-power neighbor. Initially, there was some resistance to his policy, which was based on friendly relations with the Soviet Union. As the years passed, however, more and more Finns accepted Paasikivi's line. Today it has achieved the same status as the Holy Scripture.

Finnish officials stress repeatedly Finland's need to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union. They stress this so strongly that one must wonder if there is someone who doubts it. In any event, Finland's Nordic neighbors support this policy so totally that they carefully avoid any discussion of Finland's military.

#### In Common

Finland has much in common with Sweden. Both countries see themselves as neutral. As a result, their military preparedness appears to be directed both toward the East and toward the West. Nevertheless, both countries find it impossible to believe that NATO would ever attack them.

Both Swedes and Finns understand full well that, if anyone ever were to start a war with them, it would be the Soviet Union.

#### Defense Agreement

It is useless to discuss what would happen if the Soviet Union should invoke the Finnish-Russian Defense Agreement of 1948 and ask for consultations. What the Soviet demands would be and how Finland would approach them can only be a matter of speculation. Meanwhile, there are two things that are clear.

First of all, Soviet military commanders would like to have access to Finnish Lapland in the event of any war. Secondly, the Finns have no desire to see Soviet forces on Finnish soil.

There is no doubt that, if the Soviet Union should be dumb enough to attack Finland, the Finns would fight back.

The question is: "How effective would the Finnish forces be?" The answer to that question could be of vital importance to Norway.

Although the Finns have taken Paasikivi's advice with regard to relations with the Soviet Union, they are hardly willing to look reality in the eye with regard to their military forces.

Since they have fought against and stopped the Red Army two times, they may have an exaggerated confidence in their ability to repeat this feat.

#### Defects

Since the Finns are extremely secretive about their military forces, it is difficult to gain an independent idea as to how good they are. But this is unnecessary. In 1981 the Finnish Defense Commission published a report. It contained an impressive list of defects in the army, navy, and air force.

In its evaluation of the Finnish military, the report states the following: "The advance of an invading force can be delayed and losses can be inflicted on the intruder, but the army's capability has been reduced in such a way as to threaten our ability to intercept and strike down the attacker himself in the most vital areas."

The government has increased military spending to a certain extent since 1981 and the military is capable of correcting some of the shortcomings that were pointed out. Nevertheless, more money is needed if the military is to develop truly effective forces.

#### Limitations

The peace treaty of 1947 set certain limitations on the size and equipment of the Finnish forces. It set no limitations on the quality of equipment and training, however. For this reason, Finland could spend more on defense without being in violation of the defense treaty. (At present, the country spends between 1.5 and 2 percent of its gross national product on defense.)

In addition, considering its own trade balance, the Soviet Union would be happy to sell them more modern equipment, in my opinion.

#### Fragile Public Opinion

During a recent visit to Helsinki, I asked Finnish officials why they did not spend more on defense. The answers varied. The most convincing answer was that the public opinion that supported the present level of defense spending

was extremely fragile. If the government were to propose a higher defense budget, it would cause some political unrest, especially in the Social Democratic Party.

Perhaps it is understandable that Norwegian politicians and officials are careful in their public statements concerning Finland.

Nevertheless, this does not explain why the Norwegian mass media fail to inform the public of the poor state of the Finnish military.

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CSO: 3639/46



MILITARY

FRANCE

# BUDGET CRITICIZED AS INADEQUATE FOR MODERNIZATION

Paris LE FIGARO in French 2-3 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Pierre Darcourt]

[Text] 1986 budget omits funds needed for modernization of equipment.

The air force, as seen by visiting ministers, is running smoothly: bases protected, runways, security police, planes sleek as lances--everything seems to be sound, modern and operational. However, behind this facade there are many concerns and "missed boats."

First, the AWACS, the airborne radar. France, an independent nuclear power, cannot afford the moral luxury of not having an adequate early warning system which would enable it to use its strategic weapons. However, the actual range of the land-based radar, limited by the horizon and by the height of the antenna, is 20 to 30 kilometers. The airborne radar, alone, maneuvering at 4,000 to 10,000 meters, would not only cover the low-altitude "shadow areas," but would provide 20 times the surveillance of the land-based radar. Should one of our main radar ground stations be hit, the airborne radar would become operational immediately as air defense stations.

For several years experts in the Ministry of Defense held out hope for an "imminent" decision. There is no item in the 1986 budget for these airborne radar stations, which are indispensable in France and overseas, as well as on the oceans.

The 18 thermonuclear missiles on the Albion Plateau, although "hardened," are now vulnerable, since the coordinates are known, to massive salvos in case of a decisive attack.

The Mirage IV's, even if modernized, would have little chance of reaching a target in the USSR, even flying at low altitude.

To complete the missiles in permanent silos on the plateau, the army chief of staff under the previous administration had launched a plan for a new mobile, surface-to-surface weapons system known to experts in the field as the "SX." The studies were begun at the end of 1976, with deployment planned for 1985-1990.

This is a two-stage missile with a range of 3,500 kilometers, carrying three nuclear warheads "with staggered trajectory in space and time" (cluster firing). Several modes of deployment had been envisaged: semi-mobile deployment to various sites by rail, land vehicles or cargo planes. The most practical solution seemed to be the installation of the SX's on camouflaged weapons carriers, such as the BERLIET-TRAILER semi-trailers, more than a thousand of which are already used by the army. Equipped with an explosive propellant to permit "all-weather" use and takeoff, the SX was supersonic, the cruise missiles subsonic saturation weapons, considered too expensive for the French people.

#### Successor to TRANSALL

The SX's, deployed in several places throughout the country, were protected from the single strike, the best way to prevent the fatal surprise blow being to diversify the targets. To destroy the Albion Plateau and the SX's, the enemy would have been forced to raise the level of attack, with no protection from retaliation.

But even the SX has not been retained. And to allow all the credibility of deterrence to rest on the submarine component is not without the possibility of drowning its effectiveness.

After the advance air warning system and the SX were again brought under discussion, the problem of military air transport arose. Nothing is yet in view to replace the TRANSALL, a good sturdy cargo plane, when it becomes obsolete in 10 to 15 years. There is not even a study under way to define its successor, for which the air force has, however, set forth the specifications. We will need a transport capable of carrying a full load of 70 to 80 tons (freight or personnel) at 5,000 kilometers. This cargo plane should have the same simple features as the TRANSALL and be capable of landing on unimproved flat terrain.

Finally, to prolong the life of the TRANSALL, we should have a lighter military transport plane for so-called "short hauls." This aircraft could take care of the intermediate services now offered by the TRANSALL: transporting a single vehicle, or 30 men, or a reactor. We already have this type of plane, the equivalent of an outsized DAKOTA, but faster; it is the ATR 42, built by AEROSPATIALE and AERITALIA. It would be necessary only to install a loading-ramp door at the rear to enable it to carry Jeeps or eventually a SAGAIE armored vehicle aboard. It is one of the paradoxes of our aeronautical construction that a nationalized industry has been able to construct a plane of this quality for purely civilian use without taking into consideration the military needs it might fulfill.

The nation must be made aware that these needs and forecasts are urgent. We can never make up for missing the boat on a generation of weapons. In 1940 the Germans lost the battle of Britain because they had not taken into account the imminent arrival on the scene of radar, which took place in 2 years. In 1943 the Japanese, triumphant victors in the first stage of the war in the Pacific, were unaware that 2 years later the atomic bomb, constructed with great secrecy, would crush them under a gigantic fireball.

MILITARY

ITALY

## DEVELOPMENTS, PROBLEMS FACING NEW DEFENSE LEADERS

Rome INTERARMA in Italian 15 Sep 85 pp 452-455, 477

[Article by the Military Observer]

[Text] The article written by the Interarma Observer is entitled "Autumn Is Coming...Nominations and changes" and takes a look at the developments and appointments on the horizon in the Armed Forces and the tasks which will face a new defense chief of staff and a new secretary general-national director of armaments when Bartolucci and Piovano retire in October. The Military Observer outlines at length the problems of the Armed Forces and underlines the waste, the unrest among the men, the lack of mobility, useless associations, the rhetorical messages, gossip, etc. He examines all 3 branches and indicates the objectives that should be reached and ensured by the military hierarchy.

With this latest mass return from holiday, the summer has truly come to an end, at least the carefree schoolboy part of it.

Autumn is upon us, the season when, among other worries, the time for the government's call to accounts hangs over us: not first among the many such, but certainly not the last among them is the matter of appointments of the two top military officials. The current Chief of Defense General Staff Bartolucci, as well as the Secretary General and National Director for Armaments Piovano, will both be departing their posts in October.

That means that this will be a hot time, with the heat close to the boiling-point, if we bear in mind the fact that, on the basis of the 1985 White Paper and the subsequent publication of the government's latest bills introduced in parliament, these hitherto primarily "mediatory" and, in the main, powerless posts are to be endowed with primary responsibility for the nation's armed forces.

In our latest report (cfr INTERARMA No 14/85, p 413), we made a stab at forecasts, based on that "rotation logic" we persist in

branding "perverse" because it could very well bring about the sacrifice of a truly "outstanding" official, to use a term of which Cadorno is very fond, on behalf of somebody not quite so lofty but, at that point, a member of the "Square Squad." This was perverse, and also wasteful... of men, we mean.

In our forecasts we adopted the hypothesis that the defence general staff for ground forces (the E-MM-E-AM theory), and the secretary general of the Navy or, in second place, the ground forces. For aviation, with Bartolucci leaving that post now as a relatively recent newcomer after Cavalera's protracted reign, we predicted a "retirement tour."

In the wake of our note, certainly not owing to its merits, we witnessed the eruption of a rash of media coverage of the "race to prophesy": first in line was L'ESPRESSO (No 34, dated 25 August 1985), which, in a thoughtful and impartial article by Roberto Fabiani, "Waltz of the Generals," ventured to proffer a list of likely appointments. Fabiani, albeit in somewhat lofty rhetorical terms, described the emergence in the stagnant military constellation of the "summer breezes of Giovanni Spadolini"; there was a time when we had a Winter General: is this the time for a Summer General?

Spadolini will, accordingly, set out with full support and at full speed, with unanimously approved decrees to back him, to bring about the demise of the Air Force monopoly over "everything that flies," and wielding effective national military power at the two loftiest summits.

In truth, we would point out, Spadolini's blitz is nothing more than the application, after an 8-month hiatus, of what the White Paper had announced.

Fabiani singles out, for the defense general staff, a team to crouch at the starting-tape: two "senior" generals, meaning men who have very short tours to serve before retirement, Poli and Bisognero, and three "young" ones, with a lot more than 2 years of active duty ahead of them, De Martino, Gavazza, and Pellegrino: there you have what is basically a sound team. We agree, but if we had to bet, we should put an extra lira on Bisognero and De Martino, as "senior" and "junior" generals, respectively.

As for the Secretary-General's seat, Fabiani "assigns" it to the Navy; his candidate is Admiral Mario Porta, who heads the dolphin [frogmen] squad at Marulli as chief of the general staff, but only for the time being, given the potential importance of the office, never before entrusted to the Navy, but would be sidetracked to allow the top job in the Navy, prestigious, of course, but certainly lesser in substance, to go to one of his seniors: Giasone Piccioni or Cesare Pellini.



There you have Roberto Fabiani's possible and probable picks on the summit tote-board. As for his article, though, we need must make another observation: we do so reluctantly and sadly, because it is indicative of the lack of understanding and of the suspicion that still hangs over the military.

Fabiani, a-propos of the General Secretary, writes: "when the current Secretary Giovanni Piovano retires (to a job waiting for him at OTO Melara)."

That was the final straw! Springing immediately to their feet were the two moralizers on permanent active-duty status: the ineffable ex-deputy and ex-commandant, Falco Accame, moored just off the beckoning shores of Proletarian Democracy, and the colorful current Secretary of the same party, Mario Capanna; they were followed by three more, voicing loud cries of indignation...

The defense minister, though, is ready and watchful; the Summer-General is not given to joking, and after 3 days, yes, we said 3 days, clearly and categorically, comes the denial.

It is indeed unthinkable that in a country where the party potentates are almost always surveyors or school-teachers and those of the USL tend to be attorneys, albeit invariably bearers of up-to-the-minute party cards, a 63-year-old general who has, on merit alone, reached the loftiest pinnacle in the military hierarchy, could be made the tool of an arms manufacturer and defense contractor. What a scandal that would cause!

The truly lovely part is that, a few days later, in an interview with Radio Radical, Fabiani, who is certainly not renowned for his pro-military views, while he confirmed having floated the idea so as to get it a hearing in serious and authoritative quarters, added that he considers the whole thing proper, logical, and natural.

And, in fact, who could be better than a general known for his competence, the former national armaments director, etc...? Every so often we see that even a Republican can be more of a royalist than the king!

The issue of appointments will be settled one way or another and, we believe, in the best possible way; above all else, by sheer good luck, the days of thuggery, of ferocious tribal struggles for a seat based on insinuations and anonymous memos are far behind us.

Who is there today who does not remember the Aloja-Di Lorenzo battle? Or the confusion compounded of the Torrisi-Bini flap, staged against a background with a little P2 highlighting, all to keep Monassi out of the loftier reaches of the Navy? No such thing would be possible today.



Something has changed, and certainly for the better! Even so, it leaves still standing and granite-firm the real and portentous problem facing the Armed Forces: the issue of their replacement. In an earlier note concerning the present overall state of readiness, we called our military decline inexorable unless drastic steps were taken, since the budget cannot, in any acceptable way, afford to maintain the Armed Forces we have today.

On this score, we got help, serious and persuasive help, from somebody who truly took us by surprise.

We have never had much fondness for the Radicals -- politically, of course; too many things, our long tours of military service, a point of view wholly at odds with that of civilians, a mindset and training that interdict any such leanings. We have been leery of their preconceived and occasionally obtuse anti-militarism, of their Calvinist pacifism that lends itself so readily to exploitation and is widely exploited, but we must perforce admit their consistency and seriousness in documenting and stating their ideas, qualities that are highly respected and honored by the military. There are certainly enemies among them, often implacable or pig-headed, but at least they go to the roots of the problems; they are one political party that has an office of military studies; we are fonder of them, frankly, than of a lot of "friends" who at once applaud and ignore us, and who count for very little with the military. All the parties are full of just such friends, though maybe the majority parties have more of them!

We cite as a conspicuous example the latest interview printed in a weekly that is decidedly growing, EUROPEO, with Francesco Rutelli, Radical whip in the chamber, member of the defense commission, a conscientious objector, pacifist, and anti-militarist from day one, and also an attentive and careful student of military problems.

So what does Rutelli have to say that is so extraordinary? Only things that we should have wished to say ourselves with such clarity, and which we so yearn to hear from somebody in the upper reaches of the national defense establishment.

Simply this:

- as of now, our armed forces are made up of two "incestuously" superimposed "strata." Two layers, both of them extremely expensive, and absolutely incompatible.

The first: modernity, progress, efficiency. The CATRIN weapons system, the army's helicopters and missiles, the aircraft carriers, the modern, sophisticated frigates, the missile-firing speedboats, the MRCA, AMX, EFA aircraft, and so on!

The second: a beefy and colorful military machine with more than 500,000 employees.

Overstaffed, patronage-minded, politicized, scattered absent-mindedly across the country, immobile, supported by costly and often dilapidated works and structures, depots, magazines, barracks, solely for those 500,000, says Spadolini, with the "majority" consisting of "toy-soldier" draftees who, we would add, have no desire whatever to be soldiers, "toy" or otherwise, and do everything in their power to avoid the draft.

In 1972, Montanelli tells us in his brief article, "An Army of Objectors," there were 100 conscientious objectors in service: last year, there were 9,000! Pertini, whose performance as top man in the military we could never adequately castigate, exempted 3,000 of them in 7 years; more than one a day: by now, the word has got around!

- The two systems coexist and, in their absurd diversity, suck up thousands of billions: as so often happens here, we lack the strength to choose.

In talking about the first system, they refer to technical and scientific advances, the good rapport with allies, and the potential adversary, the pressures of science and industry. The politicians accept this, and often encourage it: they soothe the military by distracting them with their "war games," from harmful thoughts and temptations and provide fuel and work to so many sectors of industry and domestic labor: there can be no doubt as to their social value.

At the top of the second system are all those whose purposes it serves, and there is a mort of them: the same ones who encourage the first, the majority politicians as well as those in the opposition. The "People's Army" pleases and soothes citizens:

- it keeps alive, albeit purely artificially, those Garibaldian and partisan traditions that form one of the pillars of the republic.

- They fend off the tempting prospect of coups, to which they believe the military is over-prone and still a bit fascist around the edges.

- They wink at favoritism and electoral and patronage support of all stripes and the creation of countless little power plants, in a very profitable network.

- They provide short-term parking for thousands of youthful candidates for joblessness.

- Attract trade and traffic to small coastal vessels (suppliers, messes, lodgings trade, amusement, etc.), to what would otherwise be moribund towns and villages.

As a result, the great and the small like it; the Christian Democrats, perpetually on the prowl for "protectorates," the Socialists who have only just recently begin to take an interest in the problem and in the quest for meager slices of consensus and power, the communists who labor under a Pinochet complex and almost all of which, thanks to their overwhelming presence on the Base Representation Councils (COCER) and Base Councils (COBAR), the elected military committees, exercise exquisitely fine-tuned, absolute control.

They like it and consequently go along with it: there is only one major drawback: it is extremely expensive, not to mention useless.

Rutelli says as much, and so do we; Rutelli says it in his final description of Spadolini as "not the worst of the many defense ministers we have had," asserts that he is unable to solve the problem, though he has made some attempts to do so: the White Paper, the five lines for operative action, holding the two military summit juntas responsible, solving the Naval Air problem, and the recent introduction of significant pieces of legislation.

As for Naval Aviation, Rutelli is actually fiercely opposed to it, calling it nothing less than an assault on the "peaceable" or at least "defensive" intention of the constitution; we feel that this is the only proper attitude for a sincere radical, a man who is permanently and perilously poised and pulled between reality and utopia.

In concluding, Rutelli comes back round to being perfectly radical: he rules out practically everything, both the people's army and the other, small, select army of professionals and the weapons systems and the military industries and the military technologies: he comes down inevitably on the side of utopia and once again calls, we think without quite his quondam fire, for unilateral disarmament and sweet reason, cites reason as the one weapon to win the East over to a policy of peace and coexistence: for information and better acquaintance as weapons. These, Rutelli argues, are the weapons communism fears most.

In his conclusions and in his closing proposals our ideas and those of Rutelli drift apart from each other by 180° and at headlong speed, and that is obvious.

We firmly believe in a carefully thought-out defense, balanced, motivated, efficient, in keeping with our resources, dedicated to all-out defense, without hesitation or reservation, of the nation's freedom and independence.

And therefore we repeat yet again in closing that perhaps even we "utopians" may someday see:

- Armed Forces that are quick, flexible, cool, credible, and worth fearing, powerful in mobility and firepower.

Away with these patronage-riddled, politicized Armed Forces: with useless installations, with non-existent Commands, with their anti-"natural phenomena" bent, their obsolete and dilapidated infrastructures, the men who cannot be transferred -- all the Sardinians on Sardinia, the Marchigiani in the Marches, the Romans in Rome, and so on, the recommendations, the waste, the civilian hirelings who lounge idly through their days, the spineless "toy soldiers," the officials who draw pay for two jobs, the pointless associations, the windy messages, the gossip. Enough!

Upgrading the Armed Forces as far as the budget can stretch. The Navy and Air Force are in fairly good shape insofar as their operative alignment is concerned.

They have, or will shortly have, sound weapons capable of dealing with the threat: a good percentage of the ships are modern and have been updated with equipment, sensors, weapons systems, conventional weapons, on-board aircraft plus others that can be adapted for the purpose.

Their numbers are inadequate, but not altogether negligible. The same goes for the Air Force (AMI), particularly if you look at its aircraft programs now poised for implementation.

Both will have to take a hard look at the system of bases and infrastructures: the Navy will have most work to do, with an enormous number of bases by comparison with the number of ships, and a plethora of useless and costly "historic units" on its back.

The Army will have to go back and start over, practically speaking. Drop or at least cut back on the draft: 95 to 5 is our ratio of draftees to volunteers, as opposed to the European average which -- except for Spain and Portugal -- is 60 to 30.

Away with the 200,000 ground troops deployed clear across the three Venetias: we are thinking of the French Rapid Intervention Force, officially unveiled on 14 July last in the review marking the Bastille Day holiday; the mayor of Paris is not a veteran: 50,000 selected men, trained, adequately armed, motivated, and highly mobile in three dimensions.

Away with compulsory military service for show, with its "tin soldiers," its districts where the "conscription lists" are compiled and where mammas, bishops, deputies, retired generals, and mayors

besiege the "naja" office, raising every variety of unshirted hell to get their darlings an "exemption."

A new army: that's what we need. A quick, real, serious army. An army for the nineties.

These are the jobs the two new top military authorities should be called upon to perform. This, we think, and we are not alone, is what conscience and awareness should dictate to them. This is what we hope with all our hearts they will essay to do.

6182

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MILITARY

ITALY

BRIEFS

PSI SENATOR ON NAVAL AVIATION-- Socialist Senator Renato Garibaldi, a member of the constitutional affairs commission, asked a question that set off a string of doubts and uncertainties in connection with two bills submitted to parliament by the Defense Ministry which called for the establishment of what is referred to as Naval Aviation. During the question period, the Socialist MP asked the minister whether he was familiar with a recent publication from the Air Force Association's center for military studies in which, referring to the introduction of the two bills, the association calls them "uneconomic," unsuitable from any point of view, and clearly in conflict with the thrusts of Italy's military policy. Again citing the publication introduced by the socialist senator during the question period, the government's move "does not meet the national air defense requirements, is based on outdated concepts, is patently designed solely to satisfy unfulfilled ambitions, and would drastically disrupt the basic ordering of the Armed Forces." [Text][Rome AVANTI! in Italian 8 Nov 85 p 5] 6182

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MILITARY

PORTUGAL

#### INCREASING VOLUME OF ARMS SALES TO IRAN CRITICIZED

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 8-14 Nov 85 p 35

[Text] While some countries even forbid the sale of weapons to Iran, Portugal, which curiously affirms its neutrality in the conflict which opposes the two neighboring countries, continues to sell more and more arms to the Khomeyni regime which everyone knows does not participate in dialog and peace nor in international mediation to put an end to the war.

Quite recently, some Portuguese and foreigners located in the United States were condemned in that country for trying to sell sophisticated arms to Iran. The United States forbade the sale of weapons to the regime of Khomeyni's Iran.

Also recently, the secret supplying of British arms to Iran was revealed in London, although it is known that Great Britain forbids such exports.

Nevertheless, in Portugal, the exporting of weapons and ammunition to Iran amounts to more than 10 million contos in 1985.

Portugal affirms its neutrality and gives its total official cover to the sale of weapons and ammunition to the tyrannical regime of Khomeyni to maintain and continue the war to which the United Nations is trying to put an end.

The cargo manifests are clear and testify to the truthfulness of the facts. The freighter "Atlas", commanded by Petros Psistakis, has been coming to load weapons and ammunitions with regularity at the Portuguese port of Setubal since March. These weapons and ammunitions are destined for the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas. Fundicao E Construcacao Mecanicas and INDEP (Defense Industries) appear as exporters which have the respective banking guarantees from Iranian institutions.

Although the simultaneous Portuguese exports at times to the two countries involved in war may not have been a secret to anyone, Portugal and its weapons and ammunitions manufacturing firms have had no let-up in the manufacture and shipment of its deliveries now almost exclusively with fabulous--and duly authorized!--contracts for the Khomeyni regime.

## What Neutrality?

Arms sales to countries at war should be banned, as is the case, for example, in Austria. And it is even worse to sell arms to a regime like that of Khomeyni which refuses peace and practices a ferocious domestic policy which moreover discredits the exporting country.

Whoever is permitting the continuation of exports of Portuguese arms and ammunition to Khomeyni's Iran must have very little sense.

If Portugal aspires to sell weapons, and it is natural for it to sell them, it has many normal countries and situations in which it can do so.

## Portuguese Neutrality

The continuous and increased exports of Portuguese weapons this year to Iran obviously concern some Arab circles which are questioning Portugal's non-neutral neutrality in the face of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

And Portuguese arms exports to Khomeyni's Iran and also to Syria (which then supplies Iran) are so regular that the cargo manifests are no longer hidden and they are the target of jokes.

It seems that the offices of the Aeronautical Materiel of the Portuguese Air Force at Alverca have not yet been bribed by the agents of Khomeyni, Syrians and Iranians who travel to Portugal regularly. But other industrial units continue, as incredible as it may seem, to be sensitive to the appeals of Khomeyni's men and his embassy in Lisbon.

Official Portuguese neutrality should not permit the uncontrolled "about-face" of exports of arms and ammunition now massively headed for Iran's war against Iraq.

9895/7051

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MILITARY

TURKEY

## BARGAINING BEGINS ON TURKISH-U.S. DCA

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 30 Oct 85 pp 1, 13

### [Text] Turkish Desires

Aid must increase and the 7/10 ratio with Greece must go. The Turkish army must be modernized. Trade must expand. Turkish exports should not be hampered. Stance on Armenian bills should be discussed.

### U.S. Desires

Washington must be able to use bases for its own purposes. Must have a base for rapid deployment force. The Voice of America must be able to broadcast to the USSR from eastern Anatolia (Turkey opposes this).

--We are Determined, They Are Selfish: Turkey is determined to expand its rights in the Defense Cooperation Agreement [DCA] but America is avoiding compromise. Critical bargaining begins today.

--Intentions Clear: U.S. secretary of defense told Yavuzturk in Brussels, "Give up your demands. Extend the old agreement." NATO secretary general asked for transfer of Canakkale station.

--Athens Factor: American Under Secretary Armacost, who will participate in the talks, will meet with Papandreou in Athens today. The under secretary is happy with his contacts.

--What Will Happen? Turkey will put America's friendship on the line in defending its rights in the bargaining. "Uncle Sam's" idea of friendship will be spelled out. If they hold to a hard line, Turkey will be "offended." The outcome will be important to the Ozal government's prestige.

NEWS CENTER - Talks on renewal of the Turkish American Defense Cooperation Agreement begin today right on the heels of the three important messages which Prime Minister Turgut Ozal delivered to President Reagan through HURRIYET on his recent U.S. trip. The result of this grand bargaining session in Ankara will play a decisive role in the two countries' relations.

America had set out to pressure Turkey even before the talks began. U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger talked to National Defense Minister Zeki Yavuzturk during the NATO meeting in Brussels and asked that "Turkey stop asking for a new agreement." He offered as a rationale for this the "classic excuse" that "we cannot get a new Defense Cooperation Agreement through Congress" and said, "Let us extend the old agreement." Meanwhile, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington has requested that the NATO transmitter being built at Canakkale be moved somewhere else.

Also, U.S. State Department Under Secretary for Political Affairs Armacost, who is to come tomorrow for the talks in Ankara, is reportedly "pleased" with his contacts in Athens. The under secretary is to meet with Greek Prime Minister Papandreou tomorrow.

#### Turkey's Demands

Turkey's views on the DCA, as Prime Minister Ozal stressed in his message to President Reagan, may be summed up as follows:

"This agreement is too much in America's favor. Turkey is not getting a fair return on its sacrifices. Turkey's responsibilities and obligations are very heavy, while the aid it receives from the United States is very little. Aid must increase. The United States must contribute more extensively to modernization of the Turkish army. The "7/10 ratio" of Greek to Turkish aid must be set aside."

Turkey holds the view that its economic relations with America are not going well. While aid is limited, the obstacles set up to Turkish exports to America, primarily textiles, are creating discontent. Turkey wants measures to be taken to expand trade between the two countries.

Economic topics are expected to be placed on the table by Turkey during the DCA talks. In addition, a more realistic attitude on the "Armenian bills," which are creating tensions in relations, will reportedly be requested from the United States.

Here is the answer given to the question "What if America will not entertain these requests?" "Relations may grow tense. Both America and NATO would be harmed by that negative effect." Prime Minister Ozal also has pointed out in messages appearing in HURRIYET that, if this were to be the case, Turkey would not willingly implement the agreement. "Turkey may raise difficulties as to the viability of the agreement. It would be offended by the United States," he said.

Political observers say that the attitude the Ozal government adopts in the talks, its bargaining power and the results obtained will be carefully dissected by the public in Turkey, especially the press, and they stress that the round of talks holds great importance for the Ozal government.



It is pointed out that the Ozal government's stress on how different the Turkey of 1985 is from the Turkey of 1980 will pressure Washington to make concessions in certain important matters. However, the question of how far Washington will go in concessions on these topics will depend on the course of the talks. The Turkish side will stress how, in practice, the cooperation envisaged in particular in the defense industry and economic matters in the current 5-year agreement has not reached the level desired. In addition to putting this cooperation on a firmer footing and increasing aid, it will request the lifting of barriers to Turkish exports.

#### Rapid Deployment Force and Radio Station

The American side is expected to present certain demands to counter Turkey's demands. The content of the Reagan administration demands in general is not fully known. However, among them is said to be the use of NATO bases for Washington's purposes "when necessary," providing a base for the rapid deployment force in this context and having the Voice of America broadcast into the Soviet Union from eastern Anatolia. Ankara, however, in a move reminiscent of Turkey's traditional foreign policy, has said in a number of statements that it finds these desires of Washington's "unacceptable." Various circles are debating the future of the agreement if Washington rejects Turkey's requests or sets up unacceptable conditions in return during these talks, which reportedly will be "tough." However, observers do not expect the disagreements to go so far as to revoke the agreement.

#### Western Views

Meanwhile, foreign sources are saying that, in the Turkish-American Defense [and Economic] Cooperation Agreement (DECA) talks to begin today, Turkey will make initiatives aimed at procuring a great deal more aid from Washington and increasing its U.S. exports in exchange for bases on Turkish territory.

According to a REUTERS story with an Ankara dateline, Western diplomats claim that American delegation head Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupe will not guarantee Turkey an increase in aid, but will provide military materiel under certain conditions.

REUTERS reported that Turgut Ozal had given no information on what kind of figure would be cited for defense aid by Turkish delegation head Selcuk Korkut, general director of joint defense affairs at the Foreign Ministry. Also, Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Yalim Eralp reiterated in a statement last week that at least \$1 billion in aid would be requested.

#### Yavuzturk-Weinberger in Brussels

HURRIYET's Brussels correspondent Serif Sayin reported:

Defense Minister Zeki Yavuzturk, representing Turkey at the NATO meetings, held a bilateral meeting with Weinberger yesterday at the U.S. secretary of defense's request. At the meeting, held in conference hall no 7 at NATO,

Caspar Weinberger asked that "Turkey abandon the request for a new U.S.-Turkish defense and economic cooperation agreement" and said, "We cannot get such an agreement through Congress," it was learned. Reliable diplomatic sources reported that the U.S. secretary of defense insisted upon the extension of the old agreement which is due to expire.

Minister Yavuzturk did not announce his reply to these comments by Weinberger. However, sources close to Yavuzturk reported that the minister said, "We are not asking you for aid, but cooperation in the defense industry. Let us build our defense industry, and both you and we will gain."

Meanwhile, speaking with Turkish reporters after yesterday's meeting, Defense Minister Yavuzturk said that during his 25-minute talk with the U.S. secretary of defense they had discussed the defense industry and economic cooperation and that, in regard to defense industry cooperation, he had asked that American procurement authorities make opportunities available to Turkish firms also, enabling them to participate in contract bidding. "We could build many parts for F-16 aircraft, for example. We have the capability to manufacture a great deal more such military materiel. I asked that Turkey also be given the opportunity to procure them," he said. The minister said that a delegation of U.S. procurement officers were coming in late November and would hold a seminar for Turkish industrialists and businessmen to explain how military contracts are handled. The minister also pointed out that the U.S. secretary of defense had asked that preparations of the draft agreement on security of technological information be stepped up and said, "I told him this draft was being drawn up by a committee."

Yavuzturk will have bilateral talks today with Manfred Wornat, West German minister of defense.

Meanwhile, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington has asked for a change in the location of the transmitter for regulating traffic at sea which is under construction at Canakkale and is being paid for out of the NATO infrastructure budget, it was learned. The secretary general reportedly conveyed this request to Defense Minister Zeki Yavuzturk in a meeting day before yesterday.

According to what was learned, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington said, in a bilateral meeting with Defense Minister Zeki Yavuzturk day before yesterday, that, if Turkey would lift its reserve on the 35th tranche and would change the location of the transmitter, Greece would also lift the reserve it had placed on spending in connection with this station, and he asked that the transmitter at Canakkale be moved from Turkey.

Reliable sources indicated that the portion in connection with the Canakkale transmitter on which Greece placed reserves was nearly \$50 million.

American Under Secretary Arriving 'Satisfied' from Greece

HURRIYET's Athens correspondent Ziya Akcapar filed this report:

U.S. State Department Under Secretary for Political Affairs Michael Armacost, member of the "Foreign Relations Council," author of two books and winner of two awards for outstanding service to foreign policy and defense, will arrive in Ankara tomorrow with the "positive signals" he received in his initial contacts in Athens and after meeting with Prime Minister Papandreou today.

American sources in Ankara stress that, in accordance with foreign aid laws and the principles adopted by Congress in the latest aid program, there will be no question of altering the 7/10 ratio in military aid to Greece and Turkey.

Armacost, known at the U.S. State Department as a firm but likeable administrator, officially informed the Greek government that the administration would not permit the sale of the 40 F-16 aircraft it wants to buy without "adequate guarantees" on the future of U.S. bases in Greece.

Meanwhile, military aid to Turkey for 1986, which was discussed in the Senate Appropriationss Subcommittee, was approved in the amount of \$714 million. The Ronald Reagan administration had proposed \$785 million for this aid.

8349

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MILITARY

TURKEY

# EKSI ON DEFENSE-ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 3 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Oktay Eksi in the column "Article of the Day": "Sitting Down to Bargain"; passages enclosed in slantlines in boldface]

[Text] First, let us establish one fact: The Turkish people are not a society accustomed to worrying over agreements concluded with foreign countries. Or, to be more precise, "were not." For that reason, whoever was running the country could slap their signatures on anything and our people would comply to the letter without raising a single voice. "Our leaders know better than we," it was thought.

Too late, it is understood that what is inside the heads of our leaders are brains no bigger than those of our people. What one has, so has the other.

Of course, it is democracy that has revealed this fact. For that reason, interest in every agreement concluded with foreign countries has now grown. Talks which have become the focus of such interest are beginning today between Turkey and the United States. You know that the "Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement" (DECA) signed in 1980 expires on /18 December 1985/. If unity of view is not reached on changes in certain provisions of that agreement by that date, the legal basis for the /American/ bases in /Turkey/ will be gone.

But, everyone knows this is extremely unlikely. At any rate, neither /Turkey/ nor the /United States/ desires the complete elimination of the agreement, known for short as DECA. However, Turkey is complaining that the agreement has been implemented unilaterally for the past 5 years. That is, it is saying, "We are doing our part, but the United States is not keeping its promise, for instance, to develop our defense industry."

Turkey also wants a /commitment to be made in advance/ for the annual amount of "American aid" -- on condition, of course, that the present level of approximately /\$700 million/ be raised to at least /\$1.2 billion/.

The American administration, meanwhile, can find nothing to say about the "Defense Industry." But it says on the other topic: "Congress cannot commit itself to aid that would carry on to future years." Of course, neither can it answer the question: "Right, but didn't the U.S. administration make written commitments to Spain in 1976, to Greece in 1983 and also to the Philippines?"

Moreover, the /\$1.2 billion/ that /Turkey/ wants annually in aid is the figure which U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle gave during hearings in Congress.

This picture, which we are trying to describe briefly, shows that the talks in Ankara will be pretty tough.

Actually, the reasons for the growing tension between the two countries are not all DECA-related. One example of what makes the Turkish public doubt U.S. sincerity is the way that country seems to want a "strong Turkey" on one hand and, on the other, refuses to buy our goods, such as textiles and steel -- even in amounts insignificant for the United States. Next, NATO Commander General Rogers is one whose word cannot be trusted as far as the Turkish public is concerned. Turkey accepted a plan that General Rogers introduced, providing for Greece's return to NATO. But, later, sections of the plan have still not been implemented. And worse yet, the United States has not felt the need to make an issue of this and protect the honor of its own general. This incident has perhaps generated the most important of Turkey's disappointments.

The fact is Turkey has now left behind the era of "unilateral sacrifice." The time has now come to explain this to the United States.

8349

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ECONOMIC

AUSTRIA

# HUGE LOSSES OF VOEST COMPANY CHRONICLED

Vienna PROFIL in German 18 Nov 85, pp 28-32

[Article by Christian S. Ortner and Liselotte Palme: "VOEST Flops"]

[Text] VOEST has become a modern enterprise. Its losses no longer come from ore and iron but from high and tech.]

The gentlemen retired deep into the mountains to obtain a better view of the future: Last Friday the board of directors of the VOEST-Alpine AG met in a secluded alpine hut in the vicinity of Eisenerz.

Topic of the rural retreat was, simply and touchingly, the future of the biggest Austrian industrial enterprise and its roughly 70,000 employees.

On the alpine pasture there was probably much talk of sin: of those sins which will bring the VOEST-Alpine group the biggest loss thus far since 1945.

Losses which next year really should lead to demise ahead of time in the board of directors of the corporation: Half of the participating members of the VOEST board of directors were dead people on vacation.

Heribert Apfalter, the otherwise very eloquent and talkative boss of the corporation, in answer to the question regarding the number of billions lost this year, only gets thin lips: "That one cannot yet say."

Small wonder. Like every other enterprise, VOEST makes regular projections concerning the probable year's result.

Early November the interesting set of accounts indicated an annual loss for 1985 of 3 billion--even more than the past record of 2.6 billion from 1981.

This worrisome number also causes increasing concern to Federal Minister Ferdinand Lacina, who is competent for the nationalized enterprises: "Unfortunately I cannot see any upward trend for VOEST-Alpine."

However, what can be seen is another trip begging for money of the VOEST management to the ministry of finance. Early next year the corporation once again will ask the taxpayer to pay up. And the addition will be generous--

supplying cover for the loss plus 800 million a year for the politically necessary Donawitz plant and half a billion a year for additional capital resources--there is no end in sight for the subsidies.

Except for Heribert Apfalter. He insists on "being able to balance accounts without losses again in 1987."

These optimistic prognoses of VOEST's top man have a tradition. What has changed are merely the numerals of the years. For example, in 1982--VOEST had just had the year with its thus far heaviest losses--he already anticipated "achievement of the zero loss line for the current year." Just barely missed: The year ended with 1.2 billion on the negative side.

The year 1983 with a negative 2.5 billion was even twice as bad, which stimulated Apfalter to new optimism: Compared to that the 1984 result will be "considerably" improved. Actual 1984 business result: a negative 2.48 billion.

All that does not matter. Even last December Apfalter predicted profits "starting in 1986," two months later he revised the prediction to "starting in 1987" and made known for 1985 a "further improvement of the results in the order of magnitude of 500 million."

Reality corrects him once again.

Once again a plan is to help against this permanent plight. Minister Lacina has requested VOEST to clarify what its future should be and to submit a "VOEST-Alpine plan." (Main points should be: clearing up the future of Donawitz, of the Stahl- und Apparatebau in Linz--a new final plan in general.)

Based on this paper, VOEST is then to get the necessary funds--"the very last time as long as I am minister" (Lacina).

However, based on such a paper VOEST had received a 4 billion gift package in 1983.

In the meantime the money is gone down the drain, what has remained is a piece of paper according to which VOEST will have a loss of only 1.5 billion schillings this year.

The credibility of new plans is not exactly enhanced by this old paper.

For just as this year the management will probably also not be at a loss in the coming years for good reasons why dream and reality differ so greatly.

Which would not be half as bad if the worries were the same as always.

But the steel crisis today can no longer serve as an excuse for losses as was possible over the years.

The VOEST corporation--and it must be given credit for that--has been tremendously restructured in recent years. The one-time steel corporation

did what many others merely talked about: Today VOEST produces only one fifth of its sales in the traditional steel field.

However, the losses were also restructured--now the much praised new products show a deficit.

"Whatever VOEST has started in recent years has turned out badly," a member of the board of supervision said with annoyance.

Even though that is undoubtedly wrong in the general wording--whoever ventures a great deal almost always also produces flops--a seemingly perverse picture emerges. While, for example, the Linz plant, the traditional, steel core of the enterprise group, is exceedingly profitable--this year a profit of almost one billion--the AMI electronics plant costs VOEST a fortune.

While the basic materials field has developed quite well, VOEST produces one flop after the other in the much praised finished goods field.

Now VOEST primarily no longer has any steel problem--it has an electronics problem, a plastics problem, a problem with its trading firm, "VOEST Inter-trading" which this year will sustain losses for the first time.

It has problems with Stahlbau in Linz, where aggregates for nuclear and hydro-electric power plants are produced and 1000 people are to be dismissed and it has a problem in machine building, where above all losses are produced. It has problems in the Roehrenwerk Krieglach, it has problems with plastic bottles from St. Aegy. d.

A personal drama takes place against the background of these problems: In the board of directors of VOEST "catch as catch can" is played because, on the one hand, everybody wants to pass the buck to someone else, but, on the other hand, wants to gain authority.

Several men of the board of directors are requested by its chairman during increasingly shorter intervals not to await the end of their term of office but to resign immediately.

Sometimes with good reason. Heribert Apfalter, the forcibly integrative figure of this theater, is in a clinch with the owner, the OeIAG.

"You have never in your life sold a ton of steel, so please shut your trap," he usually tells his owner in response to overly picky questions, true to his fundamental attitude that the OeIAG brings above all "Russian bureaucracy."

He humiliates the "Russian bureaucracy" wherever he can. He arranged the press conference in the "Concordia," in which he presented the conclusion of the contract with the Japanese OKI managers, simultaneously with the session of the supervisory board in the OeIAG in which the latter had to vote on this very contract.

One of the members of the so derided supervisory board angrily said: "He might as well have taken his pants down in front of us."

But now where Apfalter's position is seriously damaged because of the record losses, the OeIAG strikes back: while the Holding managers advocate a "breakup of VOEST into separate enterprises," they want to get the eloquent corporation boss from his high horse.

Namely greater decentralization of the corporation will become part of the "VOEST plan."

In principle, Apfalter, too, regards this as correct: "Some fields of the enterprise must be removed from the corporation wherever that is sensible."

Semperit boss Leibenfrost, who transformed his ailing rubber syndicate into separate, directly responsible companies, demonstrated what such a model could look like. Within the nationalized enterprises this process has also been demonstrated in the past, namely by the Austria-Metall-AG, which so far has been very satisfied with this idea.

In the steel field there are also international precedents: The German Thyssen Group, e.g., which consists of a "Huetten-AG" and a number of independent subsidiaries.

In VOEST such a model will be difficult to achieve: The powerful works council big wheel Franz Ruhaltinger fears--not without reason--having to relinquish a part of his immense power. And also regional labor union and chamber of labor bosses, such as Upper Austria's Fritz Freyschlag, as a preventive measure are already intervening against ideas of separation.

Of more topical interest than new organizations under company law are therefore also the efforts for a general internal reorganization: The present configuration with five "divisions" with central purchasing is to give way to a new organization pattern of more than a dozen such "divisions," whereby also purchasing, enterprise control and research are to be partly to completely changed.

What is supposed to make the lumbering tanker VOEST quick and agile in the future makes it, however, even more immobile at the moment: The knowledge of the coming changes now paralyzes all VOEST offices. Secretaries are puzzled over who might be their boss tomorrow. Managers sell not products but rumors. And engineers construct not machines but their own career plans.

Most fascinating is, of course, the game of tag at the top.

Heribert Apfalter not only would like to send at least three (undisputed are only the contracts of Messrs. Apfalter, Koch, Czempirek and Zich) colleagues on the board of directors packing ahead of time, but would also like to see Peter Strahammer, the successor he favors who is now VOEST general secretary, on the board of directors at long last.

The representatives of the VOEST owner have been almost convinced by the bank that the board of directors ought to be changed: A new organizational pattern they say, can unfold its curative effect only if it is boldly supported by a true board of directors team.



To speak of a "team" in the case of the present board of directors is no longer possible.

Now the question is only: Where are the boy wonders who are worth getting rid of half of the VOEST leadership in an unprecedented show of strength ahead of time?

Here is where the action stops already: No name irresistibly suggests itself. Also the unresolved Streicher succession (Rudolf Streicher takes over the management of the Creditanstalt corporation in mid-1986) in the case of Austria-Metall shows: There are few personnel aces in the nationalized talon.

In VOEST it is confirmed once more that a complex with centralist management offers fewer opportunities for potential top personnel to make their mark than a conglomerate of autonomous subcontractors.

And embarrassingly it is not even the marked men in the board of directors who can be blamed for the really big flops of recent years. While they were conspicuous by complacent inactivity, Apfalter and the other activists on the board of directors can have names hurled at them such as "Bayou," "AMI," "Intertrading" and "Poels."

The oldest of these problem children, the VOEST steel mill at the Mississippi results from a false estimate of the steel markets of the mid-70's.

At first, Bayou meant for VOEST only the construction of a sample plant in the United States, moreover a relatively small plant. In the exuberance of optimistic predictions, the structure soon grew into a 700,000 tons per year complex, which VOEST was supposed to build but in which VOEST itself had only an infinitesimal share.

The disaster started very soon: the construction costs for the Linz people simply exploded. And the U.S. partners could not come up with anymore money. At this point what happened to VOEST is generally called the normative force of reality: The banks said stop.

If VOEST had abandoned Bayou at this point as an industrial ruin--VOEST believed--it would have lost face internationally as a steel mill builder.

At any rate in this situation VOEST felt compelled to purchase Bayou.

It saw itself justified in this decision by general optimism in the steel market forecasts.

But then it went in quick succession.

The optimistic forecasts soon were not worth the paper on which they had been written. The losses grew too far.

Thus far the Austrians have invested \$380 million in the project, whose sale VOEST is now so strongly pushing.

At a highly unfortunate time by the way.



Even if a nice American were to be found who offers a good purchase price for the steel mill, the VOEST people are now also faced with the development on the foreign exchange markets: The value of the dollar has dropped.

While VOEST bought U.S. currency for years at a high price to then throw it into the Mississippi, it now tries to again extract a few of these dollars to convert it back into schillings at a much worse rate of exchange.

Bayou remains a classical profit and loss experience from beginning to end.

This business will cost VOEST all in all 5 billion schillings, approximately at least; four of them have already been written off and a remaining billion the P.T. taxpayer will find in the VOEST 1985 annual profit and loss statement.

On the other hand, Poels will not be included until the next balance sheets: The cellulose plant, too, is a so-called "sample plant,"--i.e. a demonstration project of VOEST by which it wants to make the choice of a VOEST design palatable to those who have cellulose plants built in the future (PROFIL, 45/85).

Heribert Apfalter avers at this time all over the country with great persuasiveness that the plant lives up to the claim made by VOEST. However, the Poels board of directors asks for 170 million in penalty from VOEST.

Only purposive optimists believe in an economic success.

The VOEST audacity in the case of Poels is the fact that the Linz people from the start knew very well that the Styrian cellulose plant would cost a great deal more than the originally planned 2.5 billion schillings but that they kept this knowledge very wisely to themselves. At any rate they did not tell it to any of the representatives of the OeIAG or of Styria province who got mixed up in the cellulose involvement after the withdrawal of the original Poels owner, Cartiere Burgo. Nor did they tell it to the finance minister who heartily supported it. (Cartiere Burgo from the start was more interested in favorable possibilities for delivery of cellulose to Italy than in an involvement as an owner. Cartiere Burgo immediately limited the own risk by removing from the enterprise forests which had belonged to the capital assets of the Poels enterprise at the start of construction of the new plant).

Heribert Apfalter's assertion is correct: Whatever installations VOEST offered to build at 2.5 billion were built by and large at 2.5 billion.

Only it did know from the start that this 2.5 billion investment was not sufficient for the construction of the Poels plant; that beyond that additional investments of several hundred million would be necessary to produce cellulose there in a nonpolluting manner and according to the latest technological findings.

While it was a question of marginal utility whether a 2.5 billion project would work out with the cellulose prices to be expected, then the 3.3 billion investment necessarily would need a great deal longer to become profitable:

Viewed realistically, that will never happen.

In truth, the project is plainly and simply a flop.

Now several paper industrialists are waiting for the final demise.

In the present ownership constellation (the financially weak Italian minority owner, Styria province, the OeIAG and VOEST), this thing will probably never function. Therefore part of the paper industry speculates that the plant, which in fact has long belonged to Franz Vranitzky (the state is liable via FGG for 1.9 billion spent for construction in Poels), is passed on to it some day and given as a present at the expense of the taxpayer. For profitable operation of a cellulose plant so relieved of the burden, which does not have to earn any writeoffs and interest, that would be really easy.

For diversification VOEST years ago had made another big and, as has emerged in the meantime, very risky jump: into electronics.

Ferdinand Lacina answers the question as to whether this step was prudent by pointing out that corporations such as Mannesmann or Japanese steel enterprises had taken the step in the same direction. But undoubtedly: This matter is "for many a nervous joy."

A particularly great deal of trembling and hardly any more joy is derived by VOEST from the cooperation with AMI, the U.S. semiconductor partner. Technologically high-grade, customized chips were on the menu of the cooperation but the knowhow kitchen of the Americans ran out of ideas. In VOEST nobody was able to fill this gap. To utilize the capacities of the Styrian plant halfway, production of mass-produced goods was started, where prices covering costs can no longer be achieved in the overcrowded market.

Result: Losses amounting to several hundred million.

Nobody knows what is to happen with the AMI plant in the future. (The latest idea was to install OKI in the AMI halls.) And nobody knows what happens in general with the U.S. cooperation partner.

When VOEST arranged for cooperation with AMI, AMI was an independent enterprise. Then it was purchased by the Gould corporation. Now great shifts in the property relationships again emerge whose consequences cannot as yet be foreseen.

In view of the AMI dilemma the VOEST owners and the state promoters have also become very cautious as regards the step into the next electronics cooperation: "The probability that there ever will be the much heralded OKI plant in Austria," one of the Austrian negotiators said, "is less than 50 percent."

The VOEST-OKI cooperation contract has been in existence for over half a year. On the basis of this cooperation contract--which was concluded subject to the state commitment of support amounting to 3 billion--negotiations are now being conducted with the republic for this very support.

And there is a quite considerable hitch: The Japanese are suspiciously reluctant with their promise that they want to build large research and development capacities in Austria.

However without such a firm commitment, OKI, too, would become a marginal case. "The OKI project," the electronics manager Otto Zich made known in a small circle, "perhaps does not compute in terms of operations but it does make economic sense."

If that were really so, Minister Lacina dryly commented, "then I would rather invest the money directly in the Federal Railroads."

A thesis that is well received also by the opposition: "Joint ventures in which nothing is ever earned probably cannot be the perfect solution" (OeVP economic expert Johannes Dietz).

Good earnings were achieved for a while by the VOEST trading firm Intertrading, which this year for the first time clearly records losses. Both big crude oil barterers are now "hanging fire" on the import side of the partner countries: neither Iran nor Nigeria are very much ready to cooperate in accepting the goods for which Intertrading acts as a middleman as quid pro quo for the oil purchases. And also in the free oil transactions Intertrading--just as in the steel trade--has now and then miscalculated.

With a trade volume far above 100 billion schillings all this added together results in a --reported-- loss of roughly 100 million schillings this year.

But even these 3 billion, which operationally are represented as the biggest loss in VOEST history, politically can even be changed into profits. Thus at the end of last week the OeGB used the bad situation of VOEST as leverage to push through its interests.

If Hainburg and other power plants were not built, then VOEST Linz would simply have to discharge 1000 people, the OeGB disclosed through the well known economist Franz Ruhaltinger.

That's how simple it is.

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ECONOMIC

DENMARK

#### LOWEST NORDIC INFLATION RATE ACHIEVED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 27 Nov 85 Sec III, p 11

[Article by Vogg Lowe Nielsen and Kristian Hjuulsager]

[Text] Inflation in Denmark is now lower than in any other Nordic country but it is still not as low as it is in the traditional low-inflation countries, Holland, West Germany and Japan.

In September Denmark had the fifth lowest inflation rate in comparison with our most important trade partners. Along with the United States (3.2 percent), Denmark (at 3.9 percent) had an inflation rate between 3 and 4 percent, while the three leading low-inflation countries had a rate of around 2 percent--a level many people expect Denmark to achieve next year.

Countries in the third category (Sweden, England, Norway and France) seem to have trouble pushing the inflation rate lower than the present level, which is around 6 percent.

Italy still has the highest inflation rate (8.7 percent) among these 10 nations. But the Italian inflation rate is substantially lower than it was at the beginning of 1984 when it was a good 12 percent and the trend in Italy is toward a slight moderation of inflation.

The improvement in the Danish inflation picture can be seen in the fact that we had a higher inflation rate in September 1984 than both England and Norway whereas now we are doing much better than they are.

#### Price Trend

While some of these countries are having a hard time reducing inflation there are indications that the Danish inflation rate will decline even more in the near future. The rate of increase for the Danish consumer price index has been leveling off since April when it was 5.8 percent compared to 3.9 percent in September. For 1985 as a whole the inflation rate is expected to be 4.7 percent compared to 6.3 percent in 1984 and 7.2 percent in 1983. The economic secretariat of the Ministry of Economic Affairs is predicting an

inflation rate of 1 1/2 percent in 1986 while other observers expect a somewhat higher rate although it will be under 4 percent.

The trend in wholesale and raw materials price indexes in recent months shows that very small price increases or even price declines are on the way for a number of product categories. This price trend has not yet achieved its full impact at the retail level but it is connected with the declining exchange rate of the dollar in recent months along with declining energy prices.

At the same time business wage costs will ease by about 1 1/2 percent at the beginning of the year. Part of the Folketing intervention in contract negotiations this spring was a reduction of company payments to several of the labor programs administered by ATP [General Supplemental Pension System] over a 2-year period starting on 1 October 1985. But in practice the effect will not be apparent before the beginning of the year when company bills from ATP for the fourth quarter will be reduced by the amount of the subsidy.

But the inflation trend could be negatively affected in the near future if the government decides to move against consumption. If the steps taken consist entirely or partially of increases in the value-added tax or specific item taxes, the consumer price index will rise accordingly.

#### Wage Trend

If we ignore the labor conflict months of March and April wages were between 4.4 and 5.9 percent higher than they were last year for industrial workers and between 4.6 and 5.5 percent higher for salaried employees in the same months. Both increases were higher than the government would have liked.

Only the low figures from March and April helped reduce the average for the year to around 4.5 and 5.5 percent for workers and salaried employees respectively. At the same time the rate of increase has gone up in recent months.

Since ATP payments and other employer contributions are not included in wage indexes, the reduction in 1986 will not tend to lower them. On the contrary several "bottleneck companies" could encounter higher wage demands because of the declining wage costs resulting from the lower employer payments.

#### Real Wages

With an estimated average increase in this year's industrial wage index of 4.5 and 5.5 percent and an inflation rate of 4.7 percent, real wages will remain virtually unchanged for workers and increase about 1 percent for salaried employees.

There are many indications at the moment that real wages for both groups will increase more than that in 1986 unless the government intervenes with measures that are aimed at restricting consumption.

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ECONOMIC

DENMARK/GREENLAND

# CANADIAN INVESTMENT RESCUES GREENLAND CRUDE ORE MINE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 30 Nov 85 Sec III p 17

[Article by Jesper Elle: "Greenex to be Rescued"]

[Text] The Greenland mining company Greenex will be saved as a result of drastic measures. The major stockholder, Cominco, Ltd. of Canada, has approved an investment of 35 million kroner and the authorities have granted permission for an increase in production.

The Greenland mining company Greenex, which mines crude ore in the Black Angel Mine in Marmorilik will now be rescued from serious economic difficulties by means of the investment of new capital. The major stockholder, Cominco, Ltd. of Canada, has approved a company investment of 35 million kroner. At the same time the authorities will allow increased production of crude ore in the current year.

The reason for Greenex's serious situation is that the prices of zinc on the world market fell 45 percent in the last half year. This means that Greenex can get only 6,000 kroner a ton today compared to 11,000 kroner in the spring.

"It will take a lot of stamina to withstand this and the company will now employ drastic remedies," director Erik Sprunk-Jansen told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. "We have received approval from our main company on the transfer of 35 million kroner and the authorities have given us permission to produce an additional 60,000 tons of crude ore so that we can keep the machines running until Christmas. We are also discussing additional credit opportunities with our bank contacts."

This means that the 350 Greenex workers will keep their jobs through Christmas. In early November there was talk of trimming the sails and the first step in this process would have been to send the workers on an extended Christmas vacation. At the same time the management decided to cancel further exploration in the Disko area until the firm regained its economic strength.

The infusion of capital also means that Greenex will continue to search for zinc, lead and copper in an area north of Marmorilik.

#### Environmental Requirements Need Definition

The Greenex contract on mining ore in Marmorilik contains a provision that when the mine is exhausted the company will clean things up. This requirement is expected to cost the company around 100 million kroner.

"This amount is included in our balance sheet, since of course we intend to fulfill this requirement," said Erik Sprunk-Jansen. "We will now discuss the requirement with the Greenland authorities because we would like to have a concrete definition of what the cleanup will involve."

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ECONOMIC

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

# GROWTH OF TRADE WITH GDR TO CONTINUE THROUGH 1985

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 4 Sep 85 p 23

[Article by ur: "Indications are that the inner-German trade will continue in the second half of the year"]

[Text] For the business year 1985 a volume of DM 16 billion in goods exchange can be achieved, whereby the growing share of investment goods is especially attractive. The state secretary expects that, in the course of its efforts to modernize and economize, the GDR will fall back increasingly on FRG offers. At the present time there is a "demand volume" of from DM 1.5 to 2 billion. Although other international competitors will in the end also have a share in this order package, a "not inconsiderable part" should go to FRG firms. Von Wuerzen did not want to give out concrete details. He mentioned only that at the present time the GDR is very interested in two exhaust gases desulphurization plants.

In his talks with GDR Foreign Trade Minister Horst Soelle, von Wuerzen also discussed those aspects of inner-German trade that are at the present time of concern to the Federal Government. Among these items are cheap imports of furniture, home textiles and electric home appliances. Von Wuerzen said he received reassurances from Soelle who pointed out that there might possibly be changes in the GDR marketing system. No new basic regulations are planned that would become burdensome for FRG marketing intermediaries, but a few cancellations would have to be accepted if they are useful to the marketing system.

At this trade fair mutual business deals were again very important but reports about them were irregular. Von Wuerzen believes that on the whole there was a slight recession in GDR orders. For many FRG firms that made offers and have a strong market position counter-offers were still of no importance. But where they were accepted quotas--measured in supply volume--averaging 60 percent were achieved.

Bonn is also satisfied with the development of cooperation in third countries. At the present time, GDR and FRG firms are working on joint projects in Nigeria and

Tunisia (railroad cars in either case), in India and Greece plants are constructed. There are also joint activities in Venezuela (development of raw materials), Algeria (wire production plant) and Syria (construction project).

#### "Not A Bad Result"

Commenting on the recently concluded framework agreement on hard coal deliveries to the GDR, the state secretary said that the last agreement was not completely fulfilled from the point of view of volumes; but because steel could be delivered to the GDR instead of coal, a fulfillment quota of approximately 95 percent can now be seen. This is not a bad result for long-range agreements. The Bonn state secretary believes that the new agreement of services that is still under discussion will still take effect this year.

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ECONOMIC

FRANCE

# FINANCE MINISTER ASSESSES NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Paris LE FIGARO in French 2 Dec 85 p 2

[Interview with Pierre Beregovoy, minister of economy and finance by Alain-Gerard Slama, date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We have heard a lot of talk lately about the government's accomplishments and very little about the nationalizations, which the opposition sees as one of the major causes of our current difficulties. What lesson can you draw from this experiment, which has a total deficit surpassing 150 billion francs?

[Answer] Let me very rapidly summarize the economic accomplishments. In less than 5 years, we have almost cut inflation by three. Our balance of payments is once again balanced. Unemployment is unfortunately still at a very high level, but we can say that as of now it has stabilized. These are the real results of a policy of improvement and modernization, of which the nationalizations are an essential element.

Let's talk about the nationalizations from a political viewpoint before approaching the question from an economic viewpoint. You can be for or against nationalizations, depending on your beliefs. The Socialists, because they favor a free economy, have always thought that when monopolies exercise too great an influence on economic life the community cannot ignore this. I should add that in our country, public utilities are traditionally entrusted to national or local authorities. These are the principles involved.

As for the economic results of the nationalized firms, four were in the red and were undercapitalized. A fifth, the CGE [French General Electric Company] was in the black. These are the five that we must consider. We have rebuilt their capital, we asked them to enlarge their equity by turning to the capital market, which they have done, and they are now showing a profit. When the opposition talks about the deficit that you cited, they are adding up the total deficit of the nationalized sector of yesterday and today, and include the iron and steel industry, which was not nationalized before 1981 (although this did not prevent it from receiving a state subsidy of 56 billion [1985 francs] over a period of 15 years) whereas since the nationalizations its recovery has come about through a policy of reorganization that we are conducting by trying to offer a future to the employees involved.



It is true that Renault had a sizable deficit in 1984-1985. But what automobile firm in the world--including Peugeot-Citroen--has not had such a deficit at one time or another? We waited too long to turn the situation around, but so did our predecessors. Mr. Besse is acting intelligently and tenaciously. Denationalizations will not solve anything and I have noted that Barre has firmly dismissed the idea.

The battle of the numbers, as you see, does not prove much. However, nationalization has made possible investment, reorganizations and the penetration of foreign markets. (I am thinking of Thomson's RITA and of SNECMA [National Aircraft Engine Study and Manufacturing Company], but also of the remarkable results at CGE, Pechiney, Saint-Gobain and Rhone Poulenc, which have been vital to the recovery of our economy.)

[Question] Compared to our neighbors, however, the increase in investment seems quite inadequate...

[Answer] This is another subject that needs to be clarified. Investment is still inadequate in services and trade, despite an irrefutable recovery the past few months. Investment has been bad in agriculture for a simple reason: capital has declined in this sector because of the decrease in cattle, which resulted from the milk quotas. But industrial investment in 1984-1985 increased 16 percent, with the nationalized sector last year playing a prime role, which was taken over by the private sector this year. We are catching up to the FRG in this area and are surpassing several other countries in the EEC, which is all the more commendable because (and this was a secret to no one, especially not to the CNPF [National Council of French Employers]) the financial position of firms seriously deteriorated from 1974 to 1981.

[Question] Many people, even some of your friends, criticize you for having nationalized the banks. Isn't this really an insidious collectivization of the entire economy?

[Answer] No. We do not want to collectivize the economy. Before 1981 our banking system was a cartel and not very competitive. That is why I have devoted my time to breaking up the cartel and modernizing the capital market. We have decompartmentalized the money market of the traditional capital market, put new products at the disposal of businessmen (certificates of deposit last year, commercial paper, which we call a "treasury note" this December), all measures which will allow the price of money to fall. Another example is a large mortgage market which will place at the disposal of those who want to buy houses loans which will be about 1 to 2 percent less than current interest rates. My main objective is to obtain the lowest possible interest rates, in order to activate the economy and create jobs.

[Question] This is paradoxical, to say the least! In order to break up cartels, you nationalize!

[Answer] Paradox it may be, but industrial and banking agreements have existed since the origin of capitalism. And as long as there is competition, it doesn't matter much if the stockholder is public or private. I have the

same feeling, and I know that here I am going against current opinion, that competition does not really work unless a certain number of public firms can stimulate it. Nationalization allowed me to conquer a certain amount of bank resistance and to deregulate the financial market, whereas our predecessors were not able to do this before 1981.

[Question] One other problem. One issue cited in favor of nationalizations was the necessity of making enormous investments in huge firms. But won't the future be for smaller firms with high added value?

[Answer] It is true, at least since France built its canals in the time of Colbert, that, in a certain number of areas, only the state can gather together the necessary financing. But in many cases the response consists of mixing public and private capital; you see that that does not involve any dogmatism, as the German government recently illustrated when it agreed to provide public credits as a complement to private credits for the Eureka program. The world is heading toward firms with mixed economies and from this viewpoint the Socialists will have been, as they often have been in history, the pioneers.

As for medium-size firms, I think that we must do all we can to create an environment favorable to their development. Here again, it seems to me that our results have been positive, because we created risk capital, opened the second market and by nationalizing a portion of the major requesters of capital we gave the stock exchange a positive push that is denied by no one.

[Question] What do you think about the prospect of the people as stockholder, an idea contained in many denationalization plans?

[Answer] "The mine for the miners?" No, but we could consider increasing participation in public firms, in ways which must still be thought out. Employees are already electing the members of the board of directors. Thanks to the Auroux laws, they already have the ability to make themselves heard. They could be involved in the results in ways which could be determined with their consent.

[Question] What is your position on the plans to deregulate?

[Answer] I am against unchecked economic freedom not only because it is brutal, but also because its effectiveness is yet to be demonstrated. The major liberal countries which, with France, form the "Group of Five" have themselves noted that in the area of exchange rates the parity of money set by the market does not correspond to basic fundamental realities. I am also against a planned economy, which prevailed during our predecessor's time. My position is the following: let's get rid of regulation where it is useless and let's leave the state with the ability to look after the general good of the people.

In social policy, that means contract bargaining, which respects the basic guarantees of the worker, something the opposition wants to jeopardize. In economics, I will take a final example, that of prices. I am obviously in favor of the freedom of prices, but only as long as competition is allowed, and allowed everywhere. If we were to immediately free prices, in particular prices for services, inflation would increase by two points. However, as the president has said, the fight against inflation is the key to everything. So we must act gradually. Allow the minister of finance, who has had the opportunity to confront the public banks and the public and private oil firms, to tell you that competition is not yet engrained in all company officers as a primordial necessity...

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ECONOMIC

GREECE

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN TOURISM PROTOCOL SIGNED--The work of the 11th session of the Greek-Bulgarian Committee on Tourism ended in Athens with the signing of a protocol. The committee discussed the efforts being made to improve the services for training tourism officers, advertising, and expanding the tourist season. The Bulgarians stated that they will participate in Exhibition Hospitality 86 which will take place from 23 to 27 April in Thessaloniki. [Text] [Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1930 GMT 5 Dec 85 NC] /8309

CSO: 3521/57

ECONOMIC

PORTUGAL

BRIEFS

CGTP-IN ON FOREIGN DEBT--The CGTP [General Confederation of Portuguese Workers] defends the fact that payment on the foreign debt should be limited annually so as not to sacrifice further the country's development and workers, said Eugenio Rosa. The ceiling on annual payments must be set as a percentage of exports or of the credit on the balance of current transactions, he added. Eugenio Rosa is going to defend this position at a meeting of the World Union Movement, which takes place in Moscow from 19 to 21 November, where the main topic of debate is to be the problem of foreign debt and its implications in the development of developing countries and in the standard of living of workers. This CGTP unionist stated that it would be necessary "to find a basis of agreement between the debtor nation, in this case Portugal, and the creditor nations. This is not a radical position like those who defend the position that one should purely and simply not pay, or those who maintain that what was agreed should be paid completely and on time." [Text] [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 12 Nov 85 p 5] 9895/7051

CSO: 3542/35



ENERGY

PORTUGAL

#### LACK OF INVESTMENTS PROHIBITS OIL EXPLORATION

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 15-21 Nov 85 p 40

[Article by Leonor Ribeiro: "There Is Oil, But..."]

[Text] Porto--There is oil, and of good quality, on the Portuguese coast. This information can be obtained from the office for petroleum research and exploration, which operates within the Ministry of Industry and Energy. This office is the only organization in Portugal that controls the activity of exploration companies and has access to their results. Last week, the office director, Jorge Faria, speaking at the Geographic Society, concluded that "the strategy of petroleum research in Portugal will have to be changed," for one decisive reason: conditions for investment are lacking.

In fact, indications are that the oil found is of good quality but nevertheless point toward small quantities. The investment-quantity ratio results, therefore, in minimal profitability.

In June of this year, Pecten-Portugal, a subsidiary of Shell from the United States which specializes in oil exploration and is highly regarded because it has already succeeded in discovering oil in several places in the world, erected a platform along the coast of Viana do Castelo. While in the Middle East "black gold" is pumped from about 300 meters below ground, the well drilled in Viana had to go beyond 3000 meters deep, from which comes the high cost of work of this type on our coast.

Texaco had already drilled in 1979 also along Esposende. After a few months, both firms ended up by removing their platforms.

Insofar as is known, no final report on the research carried out has been made public. Hence, the non-exploitation of the existence of crude on the Portuguese coast would seem to be due to a policy that is not conducive to investment finding favorable conditions, and it could continue.

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ENERGY

TURKEY

# PRIVATE FIRMS TO BE ALLOWED TO GENERATE, SELL ELECTRICITY

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 28 Nov 85 p 1

[Report by Enis Berberoglu]

[Text] Ankara--Thanks to new legislation the private sector will be able to sell the electricity it generates through its own distribution grid in areas where the Turkish Electric Power Enterprise [TEK] is unable to provide service. It is reported that leading private firms have proposed to take over incomplete dams in eastern and southeastern Anatolia. These dams are fully designed and scheduled but their construction could not be started because of inadequate resources.

Law No. 3096, enacted at the beginning of this year, allowed the private sector to generate electricity. A set of regulations published in September clarified the law. A new set of regulations currently under preparation at the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources will specify the conditions under which the electricity generated by the private sector can be marketed. Noting that private firms have the right to sell the electricity they generate to TEK, a ministry official said: "The private firm will determine the selling price of its electricity by adding a specified profit to its cost." The same official said that the private firm will recover the investment cost of its generating plant plus "a reasonable earning" through the said profit margin over a period of 15 years. He added: "At the end of those 15 years, the keys of the plant will be handed over to TEK."

The set of regulations that will be published will also allow private firms to sell their electricity directly to the public in areas where TEK does not provide service. Ministry officials explained this implementation as follows:

"The sale of electricity generated by the private sector must not add new burdens on TEK. These firms must operate as TEK subcontractors."

It has been learned that leading holding companies of the business world have proposed to take over around 20 fully designed and scheduled dams in eastern and southeastern Anatolia whose construction could not begin because of resource shortages. If the bidders who have applied to the Ministry of Energy with their proposed projects are approved they will begin building the dams using foreign loans. In view of balance of payments difficulties, the bidders on the dams will be encouraged "to use as little foreign credit as possible." The sale of the electricity to be generated by the dams will be coordinated by a firm in which TEK will be a partner. In this new type of company, the first example of which was given by the Soyut Holding-TEK partnership, TEK will own no more than 30 percent of the stock.

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